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THE JERUSALEM POST

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Magazine, Page 6

CASE OF THE DOUBLE AGENT

ISRAEL'S RISING STAR IN JAPAN Pages 6, 7

TALES OF THE SUPER HEROES Entertainment, Page A

Pope meets Waldheim despite protests

VIENNA (Reuters) - Pope John Paul II began a visit to Austria yesterday by meeting controversial resident Kurt Waldheim, ignoring protests from Jewish groups, and pledging for "a creative process of renewal" to achieve a united Europe.

The pope, on his second visit in 10 years, made no mention of controversy over Waldheim's war record with Hitler's army that has kept West European leaders away from Vienna since the Austrian head of state was elected two years ago.

In a meeting with Waldheim and other politicians in the ornate Hofburg Palace, the pope praised Austria as a haven for refugees from communist East Europe and a link between European nations.

"The entire continent of Europe needs a creative process of renewal to achieve a united Europe," he said. "The church can make an important contribution to this process of mediation and communication."

Before the pope arrived, a group of half a dozen American Jews, dressed in mock concentration camp uniforms, demonstrated outside Waldheim's office in the Hofburg.

During a service given by the pope in Vienna's 11th century St. Stephen's cathedral, the same group sang with Nazi hunter Beate Klarsfeld leaped out of the windows of a hotel opposite the church and shouting: "No meeting with Nazi Waldheim."

Many people in the crowd in St. Stephen's Square below called back "Be quiet!", and some shouted "Arafat", an apparent reference to LO leader, Yasser Arafat.

The demonstrations were much (Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)

Another Israeli couple arrested in Brazil for their role in illegal baby-trafficking

By ANDY COURT and DAN PETREANU
Jerusalem Post Reporters

The Brazilian police have reportedly arrested yet another Israeli couple suspected of paying a large sum of money for a baby, as relatives and friends here worried about what will happen to the four other Israelis suspected of alleged complicity in baby trafficking.

In all, six Israeli citizens have been arrested over the past week. They include Amiram Monsonego, Shalom and Ferial Horeh Rosenne, Gad and Ruth Flamm and Angela Grimplach.

"All he wanted to do was have a child of his own," said Gil Monsonego of Bat Yam, twin brother of Amiram, who was arrested in Rio De Janeiro on Wednesday.

Gad and Ruth Flamm were being held for questioning in the state of Parana in southern Brazil, according to Ricardo Setyon, the Jerusalem correspondent for the Brazilian *Folha De Sao Paulo* newspaper. Setyon

received the report from his newspaper's newsroom.

Following the dramatic court case of Baby Carolyn (Bruna), Setyon said, "All of Brazil is running after baby-traffickers."

In Bat Yam the Monsonego family held a vigil yesterday, praying for husband Amiram's release from a Brazilian jail.

The last time they saw the 34-year old electrician was last Wednesday, when, after taking out several large loans, he embarked upon a journey from which he hoped to return with a child for his wife of ten years, Yarden.

Monsonego and the Rosennes were arrested in Brazil this week on charges of buying babies from Angela Grimplach, 51, of Rio de Janeiro and Jerusalem. Grimplach has dropped out of sight since she was released by the Brazilian police on bail on Tuesday. She was suspected of buying a baby from a poor Brazilian woman and then selling it, according to *Agence France Presse*.

Gil Monsonego and other family members

said Amiram and Yarden had been trying to adopt a child for many years.

"They tried every possibility," said Gil. "Amiram personally visited many families who had succeeded in getting babies, to find out what was the best way."

But the shortage of babies in Israel eventually caused the couple to despair of finding a child here. The Israeli adoption authorities themselves encouraged him to turn to agencies in Romania and Brazil, said family members. "Eventually, as he had heard of many couples in similar situations finding salvation in Brazil, he decided it was the only way out."

Monsonego borrowed money from several banks, including NIS-9000 from one source, and arranged the adoption through a lawyer in Israel.

"I know that he did everything possible to do it legally, and he had all the necessary papers and receipts," said Gil.

(Continued on Back Page)

Three-hour power outage causes chaos

By YARON AMITAI
For the Jerusalem Post

A severed power cable paralyzed 50 per cent of the Electric Corporation's output for three hours yesterday, disrupting industrial and business activity throughout the country. Part of the telephone system collapsed and traffic lights in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem stopped working, creating traffic jams in the city centres.

The break occurred at 11:18 a.m. in the Yarkon-Yavne ultra-high voltage line, which connects the northern and southern power supply systems. Electricity production at most of the Hadera, Tel Aviv and Ashdod plants was immediately brought to a halt. This split the national supply system into two separate parts, one southern and the other northern. While the northern system took only between five and 10 minutes to stabilize and

resume operating, 80 per cent of consumers in the Tel Aviv area and south of it were cut off.

Electric Corporation engineers reconnected the two systems by 2 p.m.

Government officials and private economists told *The Jerusalem Post* that it was too soon accurately to estimate the damage done to the economy by the blackout. Nevertheless, they put the damage to industry at between NIS 15m. and NIS 20 m.; some said the cost could be as high as NIS 40m.

The damaged cable was taken for laboratory examination. Shaul Yofan, head of the corporation's operations division, said that a routine inspection from the air two weeks ago had not shown any defect in the line.

This type of malfunction has occurred only five times before, the corporation spokesman said last night. He ruled out sabotage, pointing out that any attempt to touch the 150 kilowatt cable would be fatal. Its

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)

Rehovot rabbi's mission: To visit Jews in Moscow

By HAIM SHAPIRO
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Rehovot Chief Rabbi Simcha Kook arrived in Moscow last night, on a mission officially described as a visit to the local Jewish community. It was apparently the first visit by a member of Israel's official rabbinical establishment to the Soviet Union since that country broke off diplomatic ties in 1967.

In an exclusive interview with *The Jerusalem Post* shortly before he left Israel, Kook, who also heads the Rehovot Rabbinical Court, stressed that in his visa application, he had not said he wished to come as a tourist. His stated aims were to teach and to visit synagogues and

Jewish families. He had no intention, he added, of contravening Soviet law, but the latter did permit religious instruction for adults.

Kook, a state employee, will arrive before the consular delegation, slated to come to the Soviet Union shortly.

The visit itself was facilitated by New York City-born rabbi Shalom Noah Dear, an Orthodox Jew who has long supported Soviet Jewish activists and who worked through Constantine Kharchev, chairman of the Soviet Committee for Religions.

The Rehovot chief rabbi, who is the grand-nephew of the late chief rabbi Avraham Yitzhak Haohen (Continued on Back Page)

IDF unit ran amok in refugee camp, Arabs claim

By YEHUDA LITANI, KENNETH KAPLAN and JOSHUA BRILLIANT
Jerusalem Post Reporters

Residents of the Amari refugee camp near Ramallah said that an IDF paratroop unit ran amok last night, knocking down doors, breaking into houses, smashing furniture, and beating residents, including children.

An eyewitness said that an ambulance driver, arriving at the scene, was dragged by his hair and beaten by two of the soldiers. The driver and five residents of the camp were taken to the Ramallah hospital for treatment. The witness said that the paratroop rampage took place with-

out any provocation from the camp's inhabitants.

Military sources said last night that for the last two days, youths from Amari stoned Israeli vehicles driving past the camp on the Jerusalem-Nablus highway. The sources added that they had no knowledge of the incident, which is being checked.

OC Central Command Aluf Amram Mitzna has ordered the release today of 89 Palestinian prisoners and detainees, military sources said last night. Mitzna's decision comes in response to appeals from public figures in the West Bank. The sources said, and is aimed at helping

(Continued on Page 21)

Hillel hopes for ban on Kach, PLP

By ASHER WALLFISH
Post Knesset Correspondent

Knesset Speaker Shimon Hillel said yesterday that he hoped the next Knesset would be rid of racist parties and those which reject the principle that Israel is the state of the Jewish people. (See story page 12)

Hillel told *The Jerusalem Post* before leaving for Switzerland to attend a conference of Speakers of European Parliaments: "If the legislation we have today about disqualifying election lists had been on the statute book in 1984, the High Court would not have overturned the ban imposed by the central Knesset elections committee on Kach and on the Progressive List for Peace."

Kollek, Toronto billionaires lay cornerstone for \$65m. civic centre

By CHARLES HOFFMAN and ANDY COURT
Jerusalem Post Reporters

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Israel, Albert Reichmann told *The Jerusalem Post* that "perhaps there were two brothers too. We are thinking said in." He also confirmed that he who ledoring possible business ties from the Soviet Union.

last weient Chaim Herzog hailed at a mas "one of the great historic his Mas of Jerusalem. In his 23 mayor, he turned Jerusalem A TOE provincial town into a me-commit that enjoys unprecedented after bity and religious freedom."

his hideog noted that "a great privi-districts been given to the Reich-Press "to take part in this project, the latagay perhaps be an omen of nide to tolerance and understanding in various groups in the city."

THEY Hall Square is a five-year presid which will bring together red alepal offices now scattered presidout the city, while saving Manlic buildings which would have into demolished under a previous acc o

(Continued on Page 21)

Israel tightens the screws on information about the intifada

By JOEL GREENBERG
Jerusalem Post Reporter

E DAY DURING the early icks of the uprising in the territo- a group of soldiers prepared to on a crowd of stone-throwing dren at the al-Amari refugee up near Ramallah. Standing in it of a battery of television cam- the soldiers strapped on bel- and stocked up on rubber bul- and tear-gas grenades.

efore they moved into the camp, idier turned back to the waiting s and casually asked: "You have enough light? Can we get

started?" The cameramen nodded, and the chase was on. It was good footage, provided by cooperative soldiers. Troops running through clouds of tear-gas, firing rubber bullets as the children disappeared into alleys.

Times have changed. A few weeks ago, Renter cameraman Jim Hollander arrived at Beit Sahur near Bethlehem to cover a small disturbance. A soldier walked up to him and, without a word, grabbed his camera off his neck and flung it away. The camera smashed on a rock.

Covering the territories isn't as easy as it used to be. A growing number of officially imposed restric-

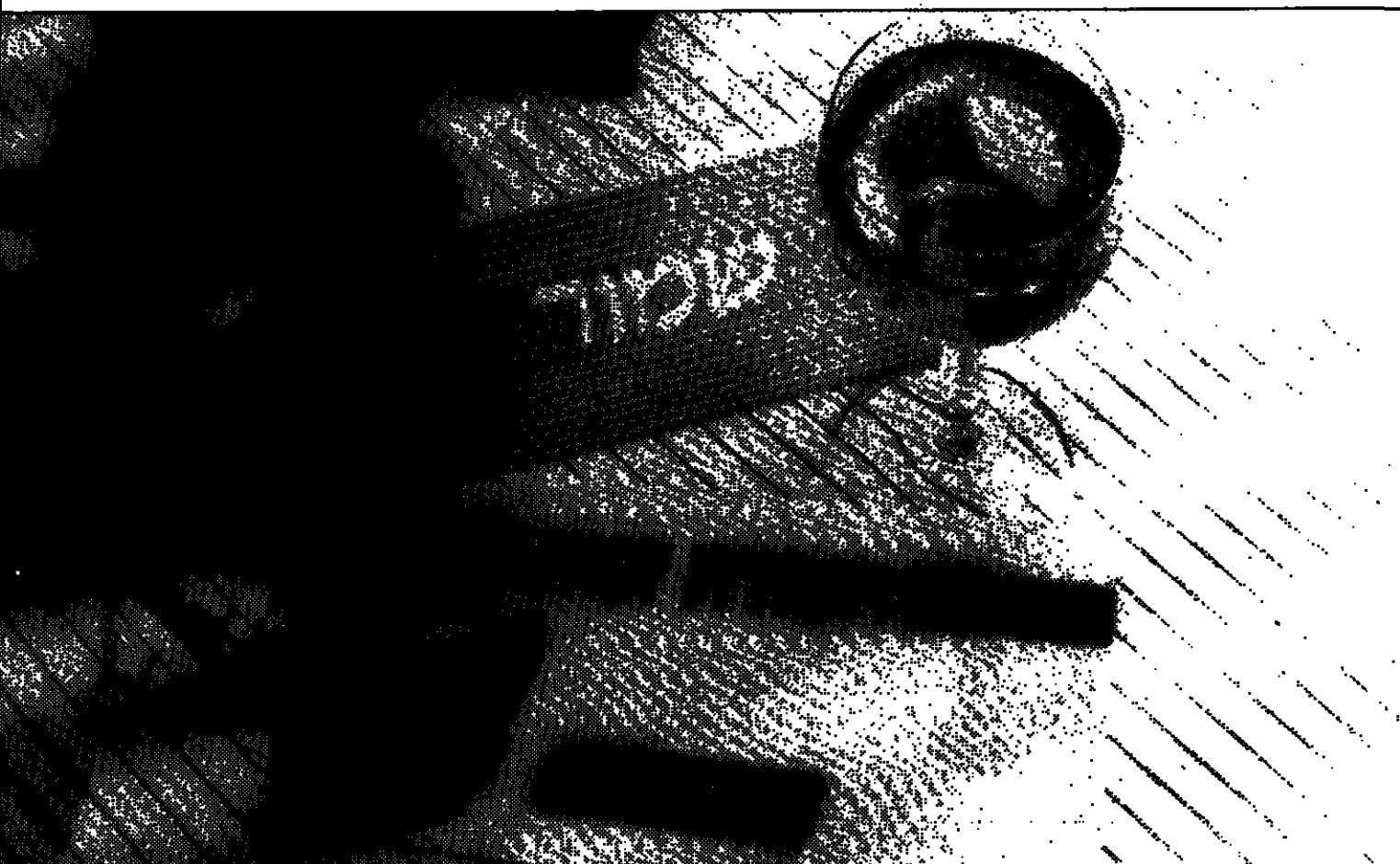
tions, coupled with an increasingly hostile public attitude towards the media, have eroded press freedom in Israel during the six-month-long intifada. The erosion is typical of the damage done to democratic values and human rights during the government's drive to suppress the violent revolt in the territories.

The restrictions on press freedom have been incremental, but when viewed from the perspective of the last half-year, they form a comprehensive pattern of limitations.

Schematically, the media strictures form concentric circles. First, access to areas of tension is barred; then, sources of second-hand infor-

(Continued on Page 17)

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Weizman now heading Labour campaign

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN
Post Political Correspondent
Minister Ezer Weizman (Yahad) was yesterday appointed acting chairman of the Labour Party's election campaign.
Weizman, who ran the Likud election campaign in 1977, accepted campaign chairman Uzi Baram's request to take the job, due to Baram's severe back problems which have kept him bedridden for the past few weeks.
Weizman's name was proposed for the post a few weeks ago, but according to party sources, party chairman Shimon Peres opposed the nomination. "Another candidate for the post was Moshe Shalita, but Baram reportedly objected to Shalita on the basis of inner-party rivalry."

Court overturns administrative detention order

By Ben Lynfield
For the Jerusalem Post
The High Court of Justice yesterday ordered the immediate release from prison of Palestinian journalist Hatem Abdul-Kader, marking the first ruling against state administrative detention practices since the start of the Palestinian uprising.
The text of the court's decision was not disclosed yesterday. But a Justice Ministry spokesman said that the decision, made after a review of classified Defence Ministry documents, was based on "technical reasons" that pertained to the specific circumstances of Abdul-Kader's arrest and did not negate the general principle of administrative detention for reasons of state security.
The ruling will probably not affect the fate of several thousand other Arabs currently being held in detention, although it may cause the Defence Ministry to be more "specific and careful" before using its detention powers in the future, legal sources said.

POPE

(Continued from Page One)
smaller than those that greeted Waldheim when he visited the Vatican at the pope's invitation last June, when up to 300 people joined a protest.
Inside the cathedral, the pope told the packed 6,000 congregation that man was living in an age in which the face of God had become unrecognizable to many.
"Slowly the world, darkened by distrust, becomes blind to truth," he said.
The pope is only the second head of state after King Hussein of Jordan to visit Waldheim in Vienna in the two years since he became president. Some foreign government ministers have met their Austrian counterparts in provincial towns to avoid contact.

POWER CUT

(Continued from Page One)
conspicuous location at the busy Geha Road junction would make it impossible for anyone to damage it some other way without being noticed, he added.
Coordinating its operations with the IDF and the police, the corporation regularly operates a security system to watch over its "soft belly" of power lines and transformers, the spokesman said.
Corporation officials expressed satisfaction at the speed with which the damage was repaired.

HOME NEWS

Liberals pick same faces to run for next Knesset

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN
Post Political Correspondent
TEL AVIV - Dan Tichon was voted to the top spot on the Liberal Party's Knesset list late last night in an all-day meeting of the party's central committee at the Ramada Hotel here.
The results were confirmed just before midnight, placing Tichon ahead of Minister Gideon Patai and Pinchas Goldstein. Tichon and Goldstein are both allies of party leader Yitzhak Moda'i.
The Liberals failed to effect a significant renewal of their Knesset list last night, electing mostly current MKs, the only new ones being Metulla Mayor Yossi Goldberg and former MK Yehuda Perah. Perah can hardly be considered a fresh face, though he is not in the present Knesset.
The top 12 vote-getters on the Liberal list were (1) Tichon, (2) Patai, (3) Goldstein, (4) a tie between Uriel Lynn and Ariel Weinstein, (5) Yehuda Perah, (6) Yossi Goldberg, (7) Pessah Grupper, (8) MK Sarah Doron, (9) Rafael Farber, (10) Eli Kulas, and (12)

Moshe Rom.
Only 10 of the places on the list are considered realistic, as the Liberals are allocated 13 supposedly safe places on the Likud's Knesset list. The first three places on the Liberal list are reserved for Moda'i, Nissim and Sharir.
The list was a disappointment for Moda'i, who had expected to place five people from his faction on the list, but managed only three: Dan Tichon, Yossi Goldberg and Pinchas Goldstein.
Sharir, however, got four of his supporters in: Yehuda Perah, Uriel Lynn, Pessah Grupper and Rafi Falberg. Nissim managed to get his supporter MK Ariel Weinstein into the list, as well as Gideon Patai and Sarah Doron, whom he recommended.
MKs Benny Shalita and Eli Kulas were kicked off the list.
More than 90 per cent (399 of the 420 council members) participated in voting.
The promises of the "carnival" at the Liberal Party's inner elections held at Tel Aviv's Ramada Hotel yesterday melted in the scorching

Tel Aviv sun. Hundreds of Liberal council members crowded in the hotel lobby, sweating profusely due to the electric power cut, which knocked out the air conditioning.
All the incumbent MKs and many others among the 50 candidates were anxious and even hysterical about the result of the vote, after several attempts at support deals made during the afternoon fell through.
The largest deal which was rumored to have fallen apart yesterday was between ministers Yitzhak Moda'i and Avraham Sharir, to get four candidates each onto the list at the expense of Moshe Nissim's candidates. However, many observed that no deal would work due to the addition of 220 council members, who were not allies of one minister or another.
According to certain Liberal sources, about 30 of the 50 who presented their candidacy were straw-candidates intended to split and divide the council members vote, thus increasing the chances of Moda'i, Nissim and Sharir favourites.



Justice Minister Moshe Nissim (right) confers yesterday with supporter Yedidya Be'eri at the Liberal Central Committee. (Hanoch Gutman)

Warm welcome and tough questions await Rabin in U.S.

Jerusalem Post Correspondent
WASHINGTON - Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin will be received here more warmly than might have been expected, taking into consideration the criticism that has been levelled at recent Israeli policy in the occupied territories.
He will of course be asked a lot of tough questions, during his meetings with administration officials and members of both houses of Congress, and even more so during his numerous encounters with the media.
Nevertheless, Rabin is to be received by President Reagan at the White House, and to sign an agreement on the joint development of the ATBM (the anti ballistic tactical missile) with Defence Secretary Frank Carlucci, who will also give a dinner in his honour.
These gestures indicate that Rabin remains a highly respected and welcome interlocutor, with whom the administration officials are keen to discuss recent developments.
"The fact that Rabin is being received by the president, which is not usually the case for visiting ministers of defence, should not be construed as an approval by the administration of Israeli policies to counter the uprising in the territories," a senior official, dealing with the Middle East told The Jerusalem Post.
"In fact we are on record as op-

posing such methods as deportation, the use of live ammunition, and the authorization to civilians to shoot anyone seen holding a petrol bomb on sight.
"We recognize that the minister has the responsibility of assuring law and order, and that it is a very hard job. We are also very conscious of the fact that he supports a political solution; and even more so, that he is talking to Palestinian leaders in the territories - a very sensible move."
The official explained that Rabin had asked to meet the president, to thank him for his friendship for Israel, and the role he played in strengthening the strategic cooperation between the two countries.
The administration knows that Rabin wants to discuss the introduction of new missiles in the region, and the Chinese role, and the danger that the missiles might be armed with chemical warheads.
"That is a problem which worries us," said the official. "The prospect of countries in a volatile region, developing their chemical warfare potential, as a sort of 'poor man's atom bomb' concerns us very much, and it concerns the Soviets also."
Rabin's effort to speed up deliveries of equipment has now been made more difficult because of the probe of alleged fraud and bribery in procurements at the Pentagon.

Strikes to hit hospitals in South, centre

By JUDY SIEGEL
Post Science and Health Reporter
All state and Kupat Holim Clalit hospitals in the South will run on a severely reduced Shabbat schedule on Sunday, and all hospitals in the centre of the country will do the same on Tuesday. On Monday, the "usual sanctions" will be applied, with no outpatient clinics open and no elective surgery being carried out.
Meeting in Tel Aviv yesterday, when all the public hospitals in the North were operating on a Shabbat schedule, many doctors called for even harsher sanctions, including the closing of emergency rooms and wards.
The physicians, who have been applying sanctions for six months, are dissatisfied with the ministerial committee on the hospital crisis and the experts' committee it appointed this week. The doctors insist that their union should be represented

on the latter body so their viewpoint can be expressed clearly. But despite reports that Finance Minister Moshe Nissim would confer with them, no such meeting took place.
The experts' committee, headed by Finance Ministry director-general Victor Medina, continued to meet to prepare a plan to resolve the crisis, but little progress was made.
Meanwhile, the Treasury attached seven cars of top Magen David Adom officials, some of them in charge of handling emergencies, in lieu of MDA's millions of shekels of debts to the income tax authorities. The Treasury previously attached NIS-7.5 million of MDA's bank account funds. The spokesman of the emergency first-aid and blood-supply service explains that MDA is owed millions of shekels by public hospitals and has been unable for months to transfer income tax deductions from its employees' gross salaries to the Treasury.

The Finance Ministry, for its part, is demanding that MDA cut staff, close first-aid stations, sell company cars and dispose of "unnecessary" property. The ministry spokesman said MDA had no right to use the income-tax deductions for its own purposes and was thereby violating the law.
Health Minister Shoshana Arbeli-Almossino, reacting to the confiscation of the seven MDA company cars, said she would demand that the ministerial committee headed by Prime Minister Shamir convene today to discuss MDA's crisis.
MDA officials say they will be forced to close down operations completely on Tuesday unless the attachments are cancelled and it receives government allocations. In a telegram to Shamir, Arbeli-Almossino asked for his intervention to prevent MDA's collapse.

Rocks hit buses in capital

By ANDY COURT
Jerusalem Post Reporter
The Jerusalem police arrested five Palestinian youths yesterday evening as Egged buses in the city once again became targets for nationalist stone-throwers.
Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, meanwhile, told high-ranking graduates of advanced police courses that the police must rise to the challenge posed by "threats and harassment designed to destroy the unity of Jerusalem."
Palestinian flags appeared in the city's Arab areas from the morning hours on. Stone-throwers attacked Egged buses on Salah e-Din Street in East Jerusalem and the Shufat Road in northern Jerusalem, according to Jerusalem police spokesman Rafi Levy.
A stone shattered windows of a number 25 bus and slightly injured several passengers at about 12:30 p.m. Windows of another bus number 25 were also smashed, but no one was injured.
The five arrested youths have confessed to throwing stones at the buses, Levy said.
Shamir joined Police Minister Haim Bar-Lev and Police Inspector-General David Kraus at the police graduation ceremony at Hebrew University's Truman Hall. He said that the massive mobilization of policemen to maintain the security of Jerusalem was a "particularly important mission," in light of recent "threats."
The prime minister was apparently referring to the most recent leaflet put out by the Palestinian underground leadership which calls for the Knesset's annihilation and Absorption Committee. Unfortunately, the Jewish Agency, the Absorption Ministry and the Knesset Absorption Committee simply chose to ignore our remarks and in most cases did not even bother to answer our letters asking for clarification.

Japanese FM due Sunday for breakthrough visit

By MENACHEM SHALEV
Post Diplomatic Correspondent
Israel will propose to Japanese Foreign Minister Sosuke Uno, who is due to arrive here on Sunday, that Japan undertake a large-scale investment project here in the research and development or industrial fields, Foreign Ministry director general Avraham Tamir said yesterday.
Uno will arrive on Sunday morning for the first-ever visit to Israel by a Japanese cabinet minister. His Middle East tour, which includes Syria, Jordan and Egypt, highlights the evolving nature of Japanese foreign policy which is geared at greater involvement in global and regional issues. (See pages 6, 22)
Uno met yesterday in Damascus with Syrian President Hafez Assad, then flew to Amman for meetings with Crown Prince Hassan and top Jordanian officials. He flies today to Egypt, the country closest to Japan in the area.
During his 24-hour visit here, Uno will meet with President Chaim Herzog, Prime Minister Yitzhak

Shamir and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres. He will spend an equal amount of time with Palestinians, touring the Dehaishe refugee camp and the Old City of Jerusalem, and meeting with Palestinian notables at the American Colony Hotel in East Jerusalem.
"Uno will try to persuade both Israeli leaders, especially Shamir, to take a more flexible view towards the peace process," a Japanese Embassy official in Amman said yesterday.
Most of Uno's talks here are expected to revolve around the peace process, but Israeli officials also hope to raise a number of bilateral issues, concentrating mainly on further increasing the rapidly growing trade links between the two countries as well as the proposal for a "Japanese project" in Israel, similar to Japanese enterprises in Arab countries.
Uno will also be asked to intercede with government-owned Japan Air Lines to open a direct Tokyo-Tel Aviv air link.

Harish's advice sought after Reform challenge to funding

Post Knesset Correspondent
Finance Minister Moshe Nissim and Religious Affairs Minister Ze'evulun Hammer have sought the attorney-general's guidance on how to process allocations to institutions earmarked in the state budget.
The two ministers turned to Attorney-General Yosef Harish for instructions after the Israel Movement for Progressive Judaism (the Reform movement) asked Nissim and Hammer to stop paying out budget funds to these institutions since the

status of many of them appeared to be questionable.
The Reform movement's Centre for Jewish Pluralism carried out a sample check of institutions listed in the state budget as entitled to an allocation. It found that some apparently do not exist while others are registered under false names. Some appear under a variety of different names in order to receive allocations two and three times over from different ministries, the Reform centre charged.

Bar-Ilan plans institute 'as balance to Jaffee doves'

By DAN PETREANU
Bar-Ilan University is planning to establish a new institute for strategic research that will "provide a counterbalance to the dovish inclination of the Jaffee Centre," said a university spokesman yesterday.
The proposal, which was announced yesterday in Tel Aviv, has yet to be approved by the university

senate, which is in recess until November.
According to university sources, the institute will be headed by Aluf (res.) Yehoshua Saguy, head of Military Intelligence during the Lebanon war. The proposal calls for the inclusion as research fellows of academics, retired officers, and other public figures.



Albert Dov Reichmann (left) and his brother Edward John Jaffee at the cornerstone for the new City Hall Square. (see story p. 1)

News in brief

ADVOCATE ZVINIR, 41, yesterday defeated MK Yitzhak Artzi, 57 percent of the votes, to head the Independent Liberal Party, second largest component of the Centre Party. Nir will consequently placed third in the Centre Party election list led by MK Amnon Stein and Avraham Poraz.

NOT ONE YEMENITE JEW has been rescued from Yemen since the more than 6,000 Jews left there are in danger, Moshe Nissim, chairman of the World Committee to Save Yemenite Jews, told actor of conference in Tel Aviv yesterday. He said he received reports that members of one Yemenite Jewish family were murdered recently there have been reports of arrests, torture and coercion of Jews convert to Islam.

A MONUMENT commemorating the 153 UN personnel who died the inception of Unifil in March 1978 was unveiled yesterday at Nakoura headquarters of the peacekeeping force in South Lebanon. The ceremony was attended by representatives of the nine countries contributing troops to the force: Norway, Sweden, Finland, Ireland, France, Italy, Nepal, Fiji and Ghana.

THE SOLDIERS' WELFARE Association yesterday announced the results of its raffle, which awarded a north Tel Aviv apartment and a Citroen BX car to No. 3245092. The following numbers also won Citroen BX vehicles: 5775688, 9614591, 5636506, 6592274, 7813975. Twenty-five thousand smaller prizes were awarded, from pocket calculators to wallets. Winners are asked to contact 03-5612291. Soldiers' Welfare Association.

ZIONIST ORGANIZATIONS from around the world pledged thousands of dollars to buy trees through the Jewish National Fund to replace those destroyed by arson. The pledges were made at the closing session of the Zionist General Council on Wednesday. Hadassah alone announced that it would buy 100,000 trees to replant JNF forests. Charles Hoffman

Commemorating eleven months since the passing of our beloved head of family
HERMANN CHAIM ELLERN
there will be a memorial service and tombstone unveiling on Wednesday, Tamuz 14, 5748 (June 29, 1988), at 5:30 p.m. at the Kiryat Shaul Cemetery.
We will meet at the gate.
For transport arrangements please call: 03-653606.
The Family

New Publications on the Holocaust

(Long Beach, N.Y./Jerusalem)
The funeral took place on Thursday night, June 23, 1988.
Wife: Esther Oxenhandler
Children: Judith and Sonny Kugelmann
Naomi and Sam Wartak
Sherman and Marilyn Oxenhandler
grandchildren and great grandchildren
Shiva at 19 Radak St., Jerusalem.

The unveiling of the tombstone of our dearly beloved

PETER GORDON
will take place on Monday, June 27, 1988, at 5 p.m., at the Savyon cemetery.
Our sincere thanks to all who expressed their sympathy.
Alison Gordon and Family

Beit Knesset Nofim - Jerusalem shares the grief of Rabbi Zev Gotthold on the death of his wife
MIRIAM GOTTHOLD

Village engulfed by 500,000 tons of rock and mud

About 300 people feared dead in Turkish landslide

ANKARA (Reuters) - About 300 people were feared killed yesterday in a landslide that engulfed a Turkish village near the Black Sea.

The Turkish Red Crescent in the Black Sea port of Trabzon, quoted by the semi-official Anatolian News Agency, said three bodies had been recovered in Catak village.

An estimated 500,000 tons of mud and rock from a rain-soaked mountain tumbled into restaurants, buses, cars and a school in the village, the agency said.

The landslide hit Catak, near the port of Trabzon some 500 km. northeast of Ankara, at about 8 a.m. as motorway restaur-

ants were packed with customers held up by an earlier slide.

The Red Crescent said in a public announcement in Trabzon that an estimated 300 people were feared dead. Earlier official estimates put the toll at up to 150 dead.

The news agency said 18 injured people had been pulled from the debris, which covered much of the village and the main road linking Trabzon with the main eastern city of Erzurum. Rescue work was hampered initially by continuing earth movements and made more difficult by water flooding from a creek whose course was altered by the landslide, the state-run radio said.

Yesterday's disaster was the first big landslide reported in Turkey for some years. A major earthquake belt runs near Trabzon province. A total of 1,300 people were killed when a quake struck the town of Pasinler in Erzurum province, bordering Trabzon, in 1983. More than 4,000 died in an earthquake in eastern Van province, bordering Iran, in 1976.

Television film showed a mound of earth more than 10 metres high covering most of the main road. Several battered cars and lorries lay in a ditch. Scores of large rocks were scattered near the village, its paths and roads covered by swirling water.

"I saw the mountain moving towards

me," said Zeki Ilhan, one of the rescued. Some foreign tourists, travelling in the five or six buses reported trapped, were believed to be among the dead.

"Between 100 and 150 people were believed to be inside the restaurants," Evren Hizlan, governor of Trabzon province, told reporters. "Landslides continued for some time and rescue teams could not get close enough to start operations for four hours."

Field hospitals and kitchens were set up near Catak, on a main road 30 km. from Trabzon.

A large mass of earth broke from the cliff and buried the road and nearby build-

ings about eight hours after a smaller slide had held up traffic. "I heard a loud noise and started running," said a visitor.

"When I looked back I was not able to see the coffee house I had been in or the cars."

It was not immediately known whether there were any children in the school, which had been due to open at 9.

President Kenan Evren sent a condolence message, and Prime Minister Turgut Ozal, recovering from an assassination attempt last Saturday, said the state would give all possible help. The landslide was triggered by heavy rains which have swept much of the country this month.

Soviet Union deploys troops in disputed area as ethnic crisis 'spins out of control'

MOSCOW (Reuters) - The Soviet Union has sent troops into the disputed Nagorno-Karabakh region of Armenia, a southern area gripped by ethnic unrest, Pravda reported yesterday.

"The crisis, which Pravda says is worsening daily, centres on the Armenian population's campaign to reincorporate the region into Armenia."

"In a series of towns, including in Nagorno-Karabakh, troops have been brought in," Pravda reported without saying when they were deployed or for what purpose. Pravda, in a toughly worded article, said that far from returning to normal, the situation was fast spinning out of control.

"It seems as if the situation could not be worse, as if under mass hypnosis the Armenian population is coming out day after day for meetings and demonstrations," it said. "Only calm, self-control and a clear understanding of the current situation can guard against the most highly undesirable consequences."

At least 35 people have been killed since February in the ethnic violence. A woman at the Communist Party Executive Committee in Stepanakert, the Nagorno-Karabakh regional capital, said by telephone that many soldiers were patrolling the streets but she could give no further details.

Nagorno-Karabakh's governing council, which has called on the Su-

preme Soviet in Moscow to consider its transfer to Armenia, appealed earlier this week to workers in Stepanakert to stop a wave of strikes as the best way of showing they were worthy of political self-determination.

The Armenian parliament in Yerevan voted earlier this month to support the campaign, but the Azerbaijani parliament in Baku resolved that it should keep control of the region it has ruled since 1923.

The woman at the Stepanakert Executive Committee confirmed a report that the Nagorno-Karabakh governing council had asked for the region to be temporarily administered by Central Soviet authorities. Ultimately, a decision on boundary

changes must be resolved by the Supreme Soviet in Moscow.

Soviet historian Roy Medvedev told reporters in Moscow on Wednesday that tension was rising in the Transcaucasian region, between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea, and many people were carrying arms. "The situation is getting more and more tense in Nagorno-Karabakh," he said. "There are enough weapons to supply several divisions."

Pravda, by juxtaposing the announcement of the troop deployment with a comment about continuing refugee problems, seemed also to suggest that the soldiers might help Armenians who are fleeing Azerbaijan and Azerbaijanis who are leaving Armenia.



South African Foreign Minister P. W. Botha, shown wearing a keffiyeh and on a camel near the Great Pyramids of Giza (background), spent yesterday sightseeing with the South African defence minister prior to the peace talks on Angola. (AFP)

Happy Botha arrives in Cairo for talks on Angola

CAIRO (Reuters) - South African Foreign Minister P. W. Botha arrived here yesterday for peace talks on Angola and said he was happy the negotiations were being held on the African continent.

It was the first time since World War II that a South African minister had visited Egypt, which deplores Pretoria's apartheid policies. The two countries broke diplomatic links 30 years ago.

Botha, who was in a buoyant mood, told reporters he was happy to be in Cairo to resume peace negotiations with Angola, Cuba and the United States on the Angolan war and Namibia. "I believe it is fitting that we should meet on our continent," he said.

Botha was accompanied by Defence Minister Magnus Malan and a delegation of 50 officials and more than 20 journalists.

The latest peace talks, which will start today, had been delayed because of a disagreement between Angola and South Africa about a suitable venue and South African fears at a build-up of Cuban troops in southern Angola.

The four nations first met in London last month to launch the peace process, but Angola had wanted the next round of talks to be held in Europe, while South Africa insisted on an African location.

700 Indian pupils hospitalized with food poisoning

NEW DELHI (AP) - About 700 pupils have been hospitalized with food poisoning in southern India's Kerala state, the Press Trust of India (PTI) said. The students com-

plained of stomach pains and started vomiting after a free luncheon at their upper primary school at Pallikalabazar in Kerala's Malappuram district, PTI said.

Riga demonstration shown on British TV

LONDON (Reuters) - Britain's Independent Television News (ITN) has broadcast what it said was an exclusive film of a demonstration by 100,000 people in Riga calling for Latvian independence from the Soviet Union.

The film, which ITN said had been smuggled out of the Soviet Union, showed a huge crowd of people in the Latvian capital, some carrying banners calling for freedom from the Soviet Union and others waving the red and white Latvian flag. ITN quoted organizers of the demonstration as saying that 100,000 people took part in Riga while thousands demonstrated in other Baltic states.

Pravda reported the demonstra-

stration was held but Latvia's youth daily reported in its latest edition which reached Moscow on Tuesday that some people took part in an official rally this week in memory of late dictator Josef Stalin's victims in Latvia but gave no indication of the scale of the demonstration.

The ITN film broadcast on Wednesday showed rally participants laying wreaths in memory of more than 30,000 Latvians deported by Stalin in 1941 and 1949.

One speaker condemned the deportations and the condition of the Baltic states today. "The situation is so volatile in the Soviet Union today. This is just one event among many all over the country," one participant said.

Five Canadians banned from Moscow

MOSCOW (AFP) - The Soviet Union, acting swiftly in response to Canada's expulsion of Soviet diplomats, yesterday ordered two Canadian diplomats to leave within three days, and announced that three former Canadian embassy staffers would be barred from returning to the country.

The Soviet move came roughly 24 hours after the Canadian authorities confirmed that eight Soviet diplomats had been expelled for espionage one week ago and that nine others who had left the country in recent months had been declared persona non gratae.

Canadian External Affairs Secretary Igo Clark said parliament in Ot-

tawa on Wednesday that the Soviets had tried to infiltrate the Canadian intelligence services.

Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennady Gerasimov had warned at a briefing on Wednesday that the Canadian provocation "would receive a due reply, but it appeared from the small number of Canadian diplomats involved that Moscow was seeking to play down the affair."

Tass news agency announced that Canadian Ambassador Vernon Turner had been informed of the expulsions - of Naval Attaché Raymond Steele and Second Secretary Evelyn Puxley - in a note handed to him by the deputy foreign minister.

Rival Palestinians clash in Beirut

BEIRUT (AP) - Rival Palestinian factions battled with mortars and machine guns for control of two refugee camps in Beirut yesterday. Police said two people were killed and nine wounded.

In a related development, the Abu Nidal group issued a thinly veiled threat to assassinate Yasser Arafat's chief spokesman for issuing a statement saying that the Palestine Liberation Organization was ready

to recognize Israel.

The camp fighting raised the overall toll to 53 people killed and 215 wounded since the latest round of the war between Arafat's mainline Fatah and Abu Musa's men broke out 14 days ago.

By police count, 102 people have been killed and 468 wounded in the camps of Shatilla and Bourj al-Barajneh since the two factions began their bloody feud May 1.

NEWS IN BRIEF

JAPANESE Foreign Minister So- suke Uno arrived in Amman from Damascus yesterday after briefing Syrian President Hafez Assad on Tokyo's plans to expand its role in foreign affairs. Political sources said Uno's trips to Syria, Jordan, Egypt and Israel - the first visit here by a Japanese foreign minister - were aimed at reviewing Japanese policies before expanding Tokyo's involvement in international affairs.

13-15 while President Corazon Aquino was in Europe and her guard was on its highest state of combat readiness.

FRENCH POLICE have smashed a gang of pimps who ran prostitutes in West Germany and Paris, arresting 17 West-Indian born Frenchmen over the past 10 days. An authoritative source said in Paris the alleged racketeers, one of whom was a French police officer, employed some 150 prostitutes at a series of brothels in West Germany's industrial Ruhr region, and 15 in the Paris region.

IRAN YESTERDAY named the director-general for Western European Affairs at its foreign ministry, Dr. Ali Ahmadi, as its ambassador to France, the Iranian news agency Inna reported. Iran and France restored diplomatic relations after an 11-month break on June 16.

CHINA HAS adopted tougher measures to protect its panda bear population and sentenced nine poachers of the rare animals to life imprisonment in the past year, the New China news agency said Wednesday. Courts in southwestern Sichuan province, home to most of the world's remaining 1,000 pandas, have also sentenced 33 panda poachers to terms of more than 10 years.

TWO GANGS that disagreed over a car deal drove into downtown Moscow and battled it out with wooden clubs and metal rods in a popular restaurant. A police investigator told the Moscow city newspaper *Leninskoye Znamye* that 36 people, including witnesses and victims, were detained on Wednesday night after the clash at the Uzbekistan restaurant.

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A WORLD FESTIVE CONFERENCE OF COMMUNITY RABBIS AND LEADERS TO CELEBRATE THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL

To celebrate the 40th anniversary of the State of Israel, the Ministry of Religious Affairs, in conjunction with the Chief Rabbinate of Israel, is organizing a festive conference of rabbis and and community leaders from around the world.

To date, delegates from 30 nations have indicated that they will be participating, together with rabbis and religious councils of Israel.

The conference will be held, G-d willing, at the Ramada Renaissance Hotel in Jerusalem, from 27 Tamuz (July 12, 1988) to 6 Menahem Av (July 20, 1988).

The opening ceremony will take place at the Great Synagogue in Jerusalem on Wednesday, 28 Tamuz at 6 p.m., in the presence of the President of the State of Israel, the Chief Rabbis of Israel and the Minister of Religious Affairs.

The central theme of the conference will be: "The State of Israel as the Centre of World Jewry and the Bilateral Relationship Between Israel and the Diaspora."

Lectures and workshops will be conducted around the Halachic, moral and political perspectives of this main theme.

The central lectures will be presented by the Chief Rabbis of Israel and academic leaders and Tora scholars from Israel and abroad. The Prime Minister of Israel, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Minister of Religious Affairs and the Minister of Defence, will address the participants.

The "Communities Covenant" between the Diaspora delegations and the communities throughout Israel will be signed.

The communities in Israel will host the various delegations from abroad on Shabbat - portion of the week: "Matot-Masa'i" (July 15-16).

For information regarding possible participation in the conference and its workshops, please contact the Ministry of Religious Affairs at 236 Rehov Yaffo, Jerusalem. Tel. 02-5511167.

Jewish Agency buries report on corruption

By CHARLES HOFFMAN

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The Jewish Agency has suppressed a report on political corruption that was to have been included in its annual comptroller's report, which will be released next week when the Agency assembly convenes in Jerusalem.

According to Agency sources, the comptroller's findings concerning so-called constructive funds were referred back to the Finance Department, which was supposed to clean up the mess before details were released to the public.

In February the Agency board of governors decided to phase out the constructive funds over a two-year period.

The original report on the constructive funds, which was completed over a year ago, dealt with money — \$2.7 million a year in recent years — allocated to institutions recommended by political parties, ostensibly for cultural and welfare activities. As reported in *The Jerusalem Post* last year, the comptroller found that a large part of this sum ended up in the wrong hands.

According to the rules laid down for the constructive funds in 1976, no money was to go to institutions directly affiliated with a political party or to be used for political purposes. These rules were adopted after overseas donors complained for many years that constructive fund allocations were being used for political purposes.

The comptroller also noted that most of the beneficiaries of the funds had filed reports with the Agency Treasury, then headed by Akiva Lewinsky, which failed to act on the blatant misuse of the allocations.

In most of the cases reviewed by the comptroller, it was found that the ties between the beneficiaries and the parties were quite close. In other cases, the beneficiaries transferred money to individuals or institutions that were not supposed to get it.

For example, the report examined the KEI fund, controlled by the National Religious Party. This fund gave part of its allocation to the Council for Rabbis and Tora Scholars, which in turn passed the money on to other individuals and institutions without authorization.

The comptroller also checked out the Ofek fund, which is connected to the Liberal Party and its affiliate, the General Zionists. It was found that some of the money went to pay for Liberal Party branches around the country and for General Zionist programmes conducted through the World Zionist Organization.

Constructive fund allocations have also been made for many years to institutions connected with the non-Zionist parties of Agudat Yisrael and Poalei Agudat Yisrael.

The irregularities led the comptroller to recommend that some of the allocations for the NRP, the Confederation of United Zionists, the Liberal Party, Herut, Poalei Agudat Yisrael, Agudat Yisrael and Labour should be reconsidered.

The funds for 1984-85 and 1985-86 were allocated by the Jewish Agency to institutions controlled by or close to the following Zionist parties: NRP, \$1 million; Confederation of United Zionists, \$446,000; Liberals/General Zionists, \$459,000; Herut, \$189,000; Labour Zionist Movement, \$280,000; and Mapam, \$42,000.

Dinitz seeks to curb power of philanthropists in Agency

By CHARLES HOFFMAN

Jerusalem Post Reporter

World Zionist Organization chairman Simcha Dinitz is trying to rally the leaders of the WZO so that they can curb the rising influence of the Diaspora philanthropists in the Jewish Agency.

Dinitz spoke Wednesday night to the closing session of the Zionist General Council about the need to strengthen the WZO's position in the Agency partnership with the philanthropists and community leaders. The Agency assembly and board of governors convene in Jerusalem on Sunday.

"We're not looking for a fight with our partners," he said, "but we have to watch them too, just like in any business partnership. It's time for the Zionists to take the initiative for change, instead of being dragged into it by others."

Concerning the Agency board of governors, Dinitz said that "when I came into office I found no fewer than 38 committees. There was even one dealing with the Carmel Mizrahi winery. Why not form subcommit-

tees for white wine and red wine, I thought to myself."

In an oblique reference to the former chairman of the board of governors, Jerold Hoffberger, Dinitz said that "there was someone who wanted the departments and the executive of the Agency to be weakened, so that the committees of the board could increase their power. We let it happen, but it's time to stop."

He urged the WZO leaders for their poor attendance and lack of interest in committee business, saying that the philanthropists "study the material and come well prepared. Are we any less intelligent or concerned? Are we too busy with ideology to be able to translate it into action?"

To make sure that the WZO's voice would be heard in the board and assembly, Dinitz said that he had appointed Settlement Department head Mattiyyahu Drobles and Information Department head Uzi Narkiss to act in effect as parliamentary whips. Their job will be to make sure that WZO strategy is coordinated and that people are in place when key votes occur.

Hebrew U. blasts gov't for lack of funds

Jerusalem Post Staff

Without quality higher education, Israel is going to find it difficult to achieve its ideals, said Harvey Krueger, chairman of the Board of Governors of the Hebrew University said yesterday.

Launching a special campaign to collect \$100 million over the next five years, in addition to what the Friends of the Hebrew University are already raising, Krueger warned that, unless the government played its part, the money would not be raised, and the university would

founder. The Board of Governors voiced severe criticism of the government's failure to support higher education in Israel, especially the Hebrew University. The Board regretted that the government had not yet agreed to talk about the university's accumulated deficit, which had reached \$100 million.

The board re-elected Professor Amnon Pazy as president of the University for another year, until September 1, 1989, limiting the period at Pazy's request.

By MENACHEM SHALEV

Post Diplomatic Correspondent

PLO spokesman Bassam Abu-Sherif's document speaks of a "Palestinian-Israeli settlement", but is actually aimed at an American-Palestinian one. It was "cleverly" written with an American audience in mind, officials in Jerusalem claim, and seems to have struck a responsive chord among U.S. officials.

Abu-Sherif's article was contained in a "Palestinian Dossier" distributed to the participants at the recent Arab summit in Algiers. Although government analysts have yet to detect any dramatically new positions in the document, they do not discount the importance of its tone and style, which, they admit, is indeed novel.

The main thrust of Yasser Arafat's current policy is to achieve U.S. recognition. To do that, and in accordance with the 1975 U.S.-Israeli agreement, he must unconditionally recognize UN Security Council Resolution 242, renounce terror and violence and recognize Israel's right to exist.

Arafat's bid to woo U.S. doesn't impress Jerusalem

"Arafat is now two steps away from his Rubicon," said one official, who does not believe that the PLO chairman is capable of making the fateful move forward.

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir said that the document "contains nothing new." Other Israeli leaders have ignored it altogether.

Through the document Arafat wishes to prove his relevance to the diplomatic process and, at the same time, to reinforce the damage to Israel's image wrought by the intifada.

Foreign Ministry director-general Avraham Tamir says, however, that the document is positive — if it reflects official PLO policy — in that for the first time it gives a "green light" for talks between Palestinians

from the territories and Israelis.

But, he adds, "Yasser Arafat is not willing to split the PLO because of Resolution 242. Therefore, he wants to persuade the U.S. to talk to him by other means."

Abu-Sherif's document has elicited a favourable but cautious public reception in the U.S., although private analyses of it are said to be less optimistic. Assistant U.S. Secretary of State Richard Murphy said in Jeddah this week that the article "was striking in that it talked about living side by side." Murphy termed it a "contribution to a rational discussion of the problem."

"We note the constructive tone which the article conveys in general, as well as some positive points," State Department spokeswoman

Phyllis Oakley said. "If the PLO is serious about moderating its position so as to make a practical contribution to the peace process it can do so in an authoritative way," she said.

Although PLO senior adviser Khaled el-Hassan has endorsed the document, Arafat himself has resisted U.S. invitations to do the same. "I am prepared to hear questions from their side, but not via a journalist," he said.

The U.S. has in recent months maintained regular contacts through third parties in an effort to induce the PLO to accept the conditions for recognition. Emboldened by the positive reception accorded Abu-Sherif's letter, el-Hassan said in Tunis yesterday that the time for indi-

rect contacts is over. "Indirect contacts during the past 20 years have gotten us nowhere."

The document has not found favour among the PLO hard-liners, who have described it as a "crime" and accused the author of "high treason" for which he should be put on trial. Abu-Sherif has already "clarified" some of the positions espoused in his own document, telling the BBC, for example, that the proposed referendum should be held only after Israel withdraws from all the territories.

"In the wake of the intifada," Tamir says, "the U.S. has become convinced that there can be no solution to the problems in our area without the PLO." Another government official said yesterday that Arafat might finally succumb to the pressure being exerted on him by the Soviet Union, the U.S. and moderate Arab countries to join the diplomatic bandwagon. provided he succeeds in extracting suitable concessions from the U.S. Tamir adds, "We will all be caught with our pants down."

'PLO view: Prospects of a Palestinian-Israeli settlement'

The following is a document purportedly written by Bassam Abu-Sherif, one of PLO chairman Yasser Arafat's closest advisers. The document, which was not signed, was sent to the U.S. State Department last week.

Everything that has been said about the Middle East conflict has focused on the differences between Palestinians and Israelis and ignored the points on which they are in almost total agreement.

These points are easy to overlook, hidden as they are under a 70-year accumulation of mutual hostility and suspicion, but they exist nevertheless and in them lies the hope that the peace that has eluded this region for so long is finally within reach.

Peel off the layers of fear and mistrust that successive Israeli leaders have piled on the substantive issues and you will find that the Palestinians and Israelis are in general agreement on ends and means:

Israel's objectives are lasting peace and security. Lasting peace and security are also the objectives of the Palestinian people. No one can understand the Jewish people's century of suffering more than the Palestinians. We know what it means to be stateless and the object of the fear and prejudice of the nations. Thanks to the various Israeli and other governments that have had the power to determine the course of our people's lives, we know what it feels like when human beings are considered somehow less human than others and denied the basic rights that people along the globe take for granted. We feel that no people deserves the abuse and disenfranchisement that hopelessness inevitably entails. We believe that all peoples — the Jewish and the Palestinians included — have the right to run their own affairs, expecting from their neighbours not only non-belligerence but the kind of political and economic cooperation without which no state can be truly secure, no matter how massive its war machine, and without which no nation can truly prosper, no matter how generous its friends in distant lands may be.

The Palestinians want that kind of lasting peace and security for themselves and the Israelis because no one can build his own

future on the ruins of another's. We are confident that this desire and this realization are shared by all but an insignificant minority in Israel.

The means by which the Israelis want to achieve lasting peace and security is direct talks, with no attempt by any outside party to impose or veto a settlement.

The Palestinians agree. We see no way for any dispute to be settled without direct talks between the parties to that dispute, and we feel that any settlement that has to be imposed by an outside power is a settlement that is unacceptable to one or both of the belligerents and therefore a settlement that will not stand the test of time. The key to a Palestinian-

DOCUMENT

Israeli settlement lies in talks between the Palestinians and the Israelis. The Palestinians would be deluding themselves if they thought that their problems with the Israelis can be solved in negotiations with non-Israelis, including the United States. By the same token, the Israelis — and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, who will soon return to the Middle East for further discussions on his peace proposals — would be deluding themselves if they thought that Israel's problems with the Palestinians can be solved in negotiations with non-Palestinians, including Jordan.

The Palestinians would like to choose their Israeli interlocutor. We have little doubt that we could reach a satisfactory settlement with the Peace Now movement in a month. We know, however, that an agreement with Peace Now would not be an agreement with Israel, and since an agreement with Israel is what we are after, we are ready to talk to Mr. Shimon Peres's Labour Alignment, and Yitzhak Shamir's Likud Bloc, or anyone else the Israelis choose to represent them.

The Israelis and Mr. Shultz would also prefer to deal with Palestinians of their own choosing. But it would be as futile for them as for us to talk to people who have no mandate to negotiate. If it is a settlement with the Palestinians that they seek, as we assume it is,

then it is with the representatives of that people that they must negotiate, and the Palestinian people, by the only means that they have at their disposal, have chosen their representatives.

Every Palestinian questioned by diplomats and the newsmen of the international community has stated unequivocally that his representative is the Palestine Liberation Organization. If that is regarded as an unreliable expression of the Palestinians' free will, then give the Palestinians the chance to express their free will in a manner that will convince all doubters: arrange for an internationally supervised referendum in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and allow the population to choose between the PLO and any other group of Palestinians that Israel or the United States or the international community wishes to nominate. The PLO is ready to abide by the outcome and step aside for any alternative leadership should the Palestinian people choose one.

The PLO will do this because its raison d'être is not the undoing of Israel, but the salvation of the Palestinian people and their rights, including their right to democratic self-expression and national self-determination.

Regardless of the satanic image that the PLO's struggle for those rights has given it in the United States and Israel, the fact remains that this organization was built on democratic principles and seeks democratic objectives. If Israel and its supporters in the U.S. administration can grasp that fact, the fears that prevent them from accepting the PLO as the only valid interlocutor toward any Palestinian-Israeli settlement would vanish.

Those fears, as far as one can tell from what has been written and said in Israel and the United States, centre on the PLO's failure to unconditionally accept Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and on the possibility that a "Palestinian State on the West Bank and Gaza" would be a radical totalitarian threat to its neighbours.

The PLO, however, does accept Resolutions 242 and 338. What prevents it from saying so unconditionally is not what is in the resolutions but what is in them: neither

resolution says anything about the national rights of the Palestinian people, including their democratic right to self-expression and their national right to self-determination. For that reason and that reason alone, we have repeatedly said that we accept Resolutions 242 and 338 in the context of the other UN resolutions which do recognize the national rights of the Palestinian people.

As for the fear that a Palestinian State will be a threat to its neighbour, the democratic nature of the PLO — with its legislative, executive and other popularly based institutions — should argue against it. If that does not constitute a solid enough guarantee that the State of Palestine would be a democratic one, the Palestinians would be open to the idea of a brief, mutually acceptable transitional period during which an international mandate would guide the occupied Palestinian territories to democratic Palestinian statehood.

Beyond that, the Palestinians would accept — indeed, insist on — international guarantees for the security of all states in the region, including Palestine and Israel. It is precisely our desire for such guarantees that motivates our demand that bilateral peace talks with Israel be conducted under a UN-sponsored international conference.

The Palestinians feel that they have much more to fear from Israel, with its mighty war machine and its nuclear arsenal, than Israel has to fear from them. They would therefore welcome any reasonable measure that would promote the security of their state and its neighbours, including the deployment of a UN buffer force on the Palestinian side of the Israeli-Palestinian border.

Time, sometimes the great healer, is often the great spoiler. Many Israelis no doubt realize it and are trying to communicate it to the rest of their people. As for us, we are ready for peace now, and we can deliver it. It is our hope that the opportunity that presents itself today will not be missed.

If it is missed, we will have no choice but to continue to exercise our right to resist the occupation, our ultimate aim being a free, dignified and secure life not only for our children but also for the children of the Israelis.

New UK envoy chats in Hebrew with Herzog

By JUDY SIEGEL

Britain's new ambassador, 49-year-old Mark Elliott, has added Hebrew to the long list of languages he speaks, which includes Russian, Japanese and Greek. Yesterday, while presenting his credentials at Beit Hanassi, he spoke with President Herzog in Hebrew.

The boyish-looking and bespectacled Elliott, who went to school at Eton, took 50 Hebrew lessons in London after he learned three months ago that he would be replacing William Squire.

This is Elliott's first ambassadorial posting. He previously served in his country's military intelligence, and was sent to Tokyo, Nicosia and Belfast after joining the foreign service in 1963.

During their private chat, the Belfast-born president and the ambassador did not discuss the expulsion of the Israeli diplomat from Britain a few days ago following the disclosure of an alleged Mossad operation

Jerusalem honours Rothberg for decades of philanthropy

By MYRA NOVECK

American philanthropist Samuel Rothberg found the temptation to raise money for Jerusalem and the Hebrew University nearly irresistible yesterday, when a crowd of 500 friends and admirers showed up at Jerusalem City Hall to honour him.

In his speech accepting an Honorary Fellow of the City of Jerusalem, Rothberg, 78, threatened to lock the doors of the hall and get the standing-room-only crowd to contribute to his favourite causes.

In honouring Rothberg, the municipality cited his role as architect of the Israel Bonds organization and his accomplishments as its first international president, as well as his three decades of work strengthening higher education in Israel. Rothberg founded Hebrew University's school for overseas students, which bears his name, and was chairman of HU's board of governors when the university moved back to the Mount Scopus campus. He is honorary chairman of the board today.

Rothberg himself tried to play down his role in the return to Mount Scopus, preferring to credit his late



Samuel Rothberg (centre) shares a light moment with Shimon Peres and Teddy Kollek on becoming an Honorary Fellow of the City of Jerusalem. (Shlomo Marcus)

friend and fellow philanthropist Lou Boyar. "I'd like to be able to share this award with him, even posthumously, but I know it's not necessary because he lived here and was a citizen of Jerusalem," Rothberg

said. Vice Premier Shimon Peres called Rothberg "one of the builders and founders of the State. I can hardly remember the building of Israel without Sam Rothberg... Since the

end of World War II you have devoted yourself to rebuilding the Jewish people."

Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek recalled that he met Rothberg and his wife Jean in Europe in 1946 when Rothberg went to see the DP camps for himself. Kollek described Rothberg as a man "who never forgot his principles," which often put him in conflict with the American Jewish leadership. Kollek noted that Rothberg fought the American Jewish establishment which wanted to keep money raised for Israel to be used in the U.S.

In accepting the honour, Rothberg gave special thanks to his wife. "Without her, I'd just be another Sam Rothberg from Peoria (Illinois)." He also singled out his first boss, Episcopal Bishop Russell Brown, who employed Rothberg as a research chemist. Brown allowed him to devote his time to Jewish causes at the expense of his work.

Among those attending the ceremony were First Lady Aura Herzog, World Zionist Organization chairman Simcha Dinitz and HU Chancellor Avraham Harman.

Waiting for the Second Round in Jordan

By William Safire

WASHINGTON — Americans returning from Israel asked: "Isn't it a shame the way the image of Israel is being changed on TV from David to Goliath? Isn't the occupation of the West Bank corrupting the soul of the Israelis?"

It's a shame, first, that the dream cherished by idealists of Arabs and Jews living together in harmony in the same land has been shattered. The intifada — the violent uprising of Palestinian Arabs — has silenced those who used to dare speak of brotherhood.

It's a shame that the Israeli government foolishly released a thousand of the most hardened apostles of hatred a few years ago in a swap for several captured airmen, appeasement that Israel is paying for today.

It's a shame, too, that so many long-time supporters of Israel in the United States have been reduced to hand-wringing anguish at the sight of a democratic nation defending itself against a new form of guerrilla warfare in which the attacker assumes the role of victim.

Most of all, it's a shame that overseas viewers are persuaded to think that Israel is in a state of siege, to be shunned by fair-weather tourists and timorous immigrants, when in fact the streets of Jerusalem and Tel Aviv are far safer than those of New York and Washington.

Such acceptance of what Arab leaders say in public strikes accommodationists as antisemitic. Americans who set great store in winks and nods explain that the Arab leaders have to adopt an extreme position now but will settle for the West Bank and Gaza and won't even demand the division of Jerusalem.

Don't worry (say the outsiders) whose lives and homes are not at stake, as well as a diminishing number of Israeli doves) about the Arab rhetoric, or about the Arab stabbing of Palestinian mayors who lean toward Jordan rather than the PLO. Ignore all the jibed jawboning when offered recognition and land, they'll take what they are given and will live in peace alongside the Jews.

But let us out the concession and consider for a moment the possibility that these people are serious. The Palestinians who have been living for a generation under Israeli administration are among the best educated, most highly motivated Arabs in the world. They are understandably embittered because they have been kept in camps as "refugees."

That is why Arab rulers, through the United Nations, have resisted any improvement in the housing of Palestinians, as offered by the Israelis. Arab leaders want their frustrated brothers to stay where they are — far from Arab capitals, where they might be trouble-makers — in and near Israel, trouble-makers — unhappy.

The pushed-around Palestinians are destined to have their state one day. But their state will not be Israel; instead it will be the land on the East Bank of the Jordan, populated now mainly by Palestinians but ruled by King Hussein and his minority of Hashemites.

Self-determination will come when the king and Yasser Arafat or his successor come to grips or come to agreement. Economics and culture dictate that there can be only one Palestinian state, not two. Populated areas of the West Bank and Gaza cannot exist as independent pockets of poverty, but are destined to unite with the East Bank to create a viable nation run by the majority — and not by the minority monarch who won the bloody first round.

The battle we see on television today is between Palestinian demonstrators and Israeli soldiers, but the unseen, generation-long battle is between the PLO and King Hussein for control of the Palestinian Arab nation.

When the winner emerges with the franchise for direct dealing — one that does not threaten itself to survive by the hardest Israeli hard-line — we will eagerly offer a formula for peace. In the meantime, Israel's friends are well advised to be patient and stand fast.

The New York Times.

Presented by Dr. Joseph Miralman

CORRECTION
The AGI kibbutz Study Day, Monday, June 27, will be held from 9 a.m. to 2 p.m. and not as published. For additional information please call 02-240445.

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Burning tyres and thrown stones have become 'small change' in Gaza

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT

Jerusalem Post Reporter

GAZA CITY — The teenaged Palestinian left the group by a house on al-Wabda street. He picked up a stone.

GILBERT

Yoel Gilbert wishes to locate his family. He was born 1912, Razmin, Poland. Parents (born Razmin): Haim Nissan (died 1917) and Haya. Brother: Shiye, Sisters: Gittel, Hantshe, Ettel, Yenta.

Family moved 1914 to Radzminski St., Praga (Warsaw suburb). Family dispersed in 1939. Brother/sisters/their children are asked to contact Yoel Gilbert at the Ambassador Hotel, 56 Herbert Samuel Boulevard, Tel Aviv.

I cringed behind the steering wheel, waiting for the stone to hit my car. For a moment it seemed as though this youngster, like the boy at Rafah two hours earlier, had missed.

Then came the thundering noise, like an explosion, as the rock bounced off the roof.

About 100 metres down the road, flames were shooting out from a burning tyre. Stones and broken metal bars were laid across the road, one of Gaza's main thoroughfares. Smoke billowed from a second tyre down the road.

An IDF captain standing in the middle of the intersection watched a woman and girls file out of a house carrying pails of water to extinguish the fire. Another soldier banged his stick on metal doors searching for men to drag away the tyres and rubbish.

The soldier located several men, including one in green-striped pyjamas, took their identity cards and set them to work. They obeyed sullenly, throwing tin cans behind a wall and dragging the smoking tyres with sticks.

No one seemed to pay attention to the Palestinian flag fluttering

from the electric cable above our heads. But the officer had someone remove several flags from the roof of an unfinished corner building. Down the road troops made teenagers extinguish the second fire, and one soldier tried breaking open the locked metal door to a nearby house. He pushed, kicked, and finally made an Arab try and force the door open with a bar.

Meanwhile the men at the first roadblock cleared most of the rubbish and came back for their ID cards, but the captain insisted they sweep the road. One of the Arabs protested. He showed the officer a bleeding finger which he said he had just cut. "Am I to blame for all this?" he asked. "I was working in my sewing workshop." Pointing at another officer, he said: "He saw me at the machine."

The captain took all this in his stride. It was 3.30 p.m., and he noted it was the first burning roadblock he had seen all day.

I told him I had been stoned and had come up against another burning tyre at noon, but he smiled benignly. "Listen," he said. "On roadblock, two, ten — that's small change."

THE ATTEMPTED assassination a fortnight ago of Turkish Prime Minister Turgut Ozal, coming only three days after his summit meeting with Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreu, has directed more international attention to developments in Turkey and its immediate environs than it is usually accustomed to receiving.

In Israel, little notice is usually taken of this northern Middle Eastern neighbour, despite its strategic location between the USSR, Iran, Iraq and Syria. Few are aware of the global competition of the superpowers in the Middle East and along the southern flank of Nato.

It is also forgotten that even before the Cold War erupted over the fate of Eastern and Central Europe, it was in Turkey that the Western powers and the USSR first found their interests clashing, in the wake of Soviet efforts to recover lost territories in Eastern Anatolia and to establish a military presence on the Turkish straits.

Yet despite this general tendency not to look beyond the Syrian-Turkish border, a general appreciation of the strategic role of Turkey, especially from the point of view of the U.S. and its Nato allies, puts in perspective Western interests in this sector of the Middle East, as well as Israel's recently discovered strategic significance therein.

SINCE THE days of the Eastern Question in 19th century European diplomacy, Western interest in strengthening Turkey has been based on its role in blocking the expansion of Russian power southward towards the Middle East and Africa.

On land, Turkey's rugged mountain ranges have provided a natural barrier against the easy exploitation by the USSR of its traditional conventional superiority in ground forces against the minuscule Western presence in this area.

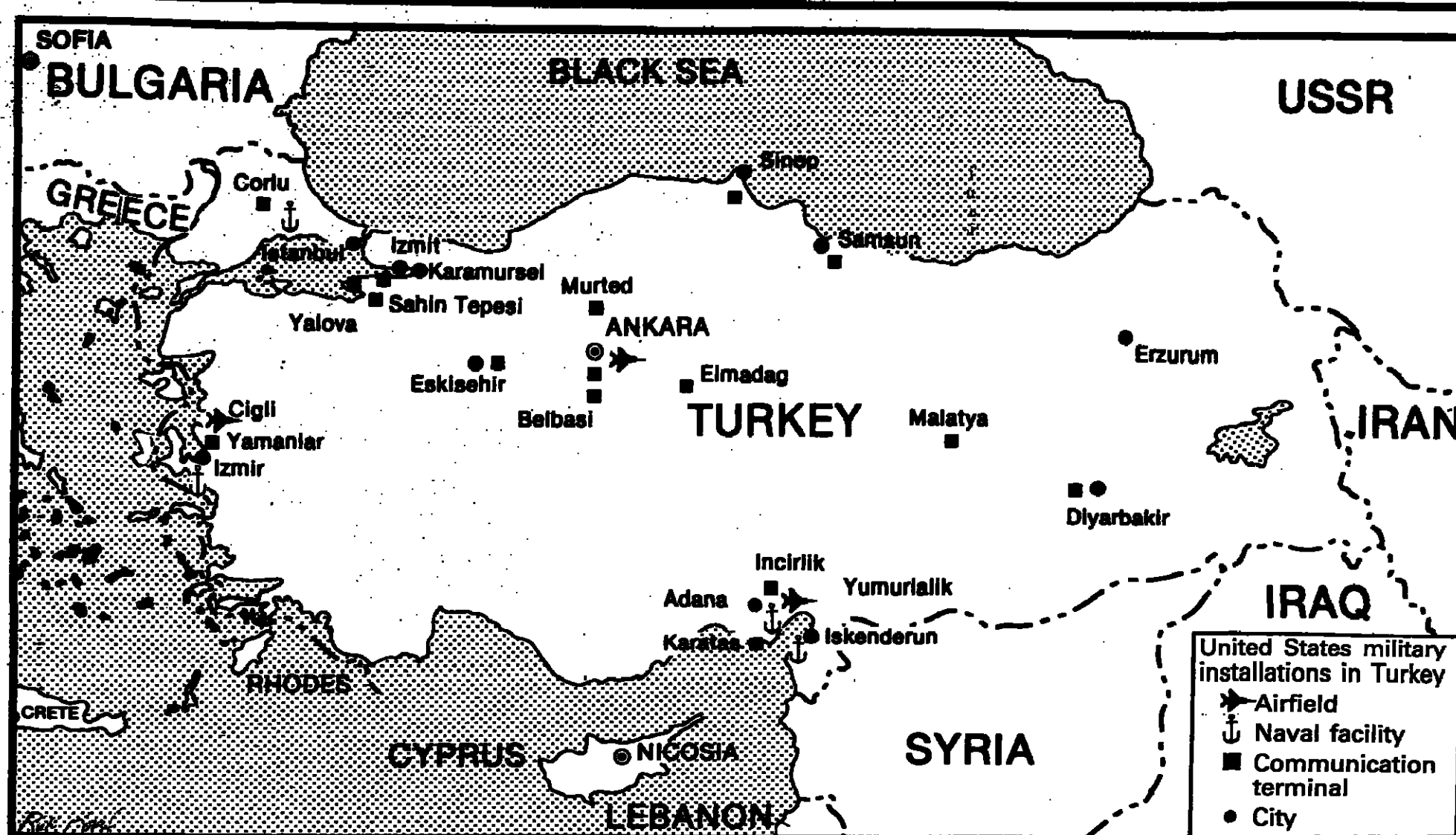
The U.S. has made use of Turkey's geostrategic location bordering the Soviet Union for intelligence-gathering facilities, whose importance have only increased since the loss of Iran.

Control of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, recognized in the 1936 Montreux Convention, makes Turkey a potential naval barrier to the reinforcement of the Soviet Mediterranean Squadron from the Black Sea in time of war. Turkey has also provided until recently an air barrier against the projection of Soviet air power into the Middle East.

In addition to these very tangible strategic contributions to Western interests, Turkish spokesmen often cite other elements that Turkey contributes to the East-West strategic equation:

Turkey has the longest border of any Nato country with the USSR; it fields the largest standing army among the European members of Nato (825,000 active-duty troops) which, along with a much smaller Greek standing army of 180,000, ties down at least 34 Warsaw Pact divisions that otherwise would be available for deployment against Nato's Central Front.

BESIDES ITS interaction with Nato and the West, Turkey has always had a role to play in the East as well. As a co-sponsor of Middle East defence schemes in the early 1950s, and later as a member of the Baghdad Pact (later Cento), Turkey



Turkey between East and West:

Along a strategic seam

has traditionally projected its influence eastward and sought to promote collective security schemes among the other states of the Northern Tier of the Middle East.

In the early 1980s, as U.S. military planners found it difficult to obtain military-access rights throughout most of the Middle East, Turkey came to be viewed as an ideal locale for deploying American tactical airpower in the event of a Soviet military threat to northern Iran.

While the U.S. and Turkey signed an agreement in 1982 which included the upgrading of eastern airbases such as Erzurum and Batman, Turkish officials have expressed considerable sensitivity about whether these facilities could be used by U.S. forces in the event of a non-Nato, out-of-area contingency.

To their credit, the Turks granted the U.S. use of the Incirlik airbase for supporting the American contingent in the multinational force in Beirut in 1983-4, despite its location beyond Nato's area of responsibility. In the case of contingencies in Iran or the Persian Gulf, the Turks' declaratory policies on cooperating with the U.S. armed forces have been a function of their delicate relations with the Islamic Republic of Iran as well as the Arab Gulf states.

In the past few years there have been a number of rumours that Turkish units might be stationed in the Arabian peninsula to support

the regional defence efforts of Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states in a manner similar to the Pakistani contingents that assisted these countries until recently.

Evidently a Turkish security role in the Gulf has not emerged; the vacuum created by the reduction of Pakistan's Gulf involvement has been increasingly assumed by non-Gulf Arab states like Egypt.

Instead, Turkey has become involved in regional security problems closer to home that are related to the spillover of the Iran-Iraq War. The strengthening of Kurdish separatist movements in both countries has had implications for Turkey's

decline of Nato's capabilities along its entire southern flank.

In the first place, when the U.S. Sixth Fleet was established in the late 1940s to shore up this entire region, Nato enjoyed total maritime superiority in the Mediterranean. American naval strength could be fully exploited to support the land forces of its local allies. Certainly the reinforcement of Turkey, in case of war, was not even a question, given the West's naval preponderance.

But in the course of the 1970s, the Soviets altered their naval strategy, and established a growing presence in the Mediterranean, which was

in a variety of Mediterranean ports and airfields. Egypt's replacement of the Russians by the Americans in the 1970s was a considerable setback for the USSR, but Moscow succeeded in establishing productive relationships with Syria and Libya.

The Soviet presence in these countries had certain similarities with the American relationship with Saudi Arabia. Overbuilt air bases and military facilities, as well as arms sales far in excess of local defence needs, gave both superpowers a kind of "pre-positioned presence" in the territories of their respective clients.

Whether either superpower

recent years, Syria's air defence network can cover Nato facilities in southern Turkey; Syria's ground-force strength can potentially tie down Turkish units needed within the Nato area.

THIRDLY, THE southern flank of Nato has suffered from difficult political problems in the 1980s. American analysts frequently point to the fact that the countries of the southern region, unlike the states of Central Europe, do not in many cases face a mutual threat on a single front; this causes the southern Nato allies to think of their own national defence requirements instead of the requirements of the entire coalition.

At one time or another, each of the southern flank allies, with the exception of Italy, has sought a fundamental revision of the terms of the American military presence, as well as a substantial increase in external assistance.

What began in 1981 as a problem particular to Greece after the election of Prime Minister Papandreu has since spread to Portugal, Spain, and even to Turkey itself.

In the Spanish case, recent demands to remove two squadrons of U.S. Air Force F-16 fighter-bombers from Torrejon Air Base near Madrid directly affect the ability of the U.S. to reinforce Turkey with American air power in the event of an Eastern Mediterranean crisis.

OF COURSE, the most difficult set of political problems in the southern flank affecting the defence of Turkey are connected to its historic tensions with Greece.

Since the Turkish invasion of northern Cyprus in 1974, these tensions have spilled over into the U.S. Congress, causing a partial embargo on military assistance between 1975

and 1978. In subsequent years, Congress tied U.S. aid levels to Turkey to the level of aid to Greece, in a ratio of 10 to seven.

The relations of these two Nato allies nearly deteriorated further, almost to the brink of war, in March 1987 in a dispute over oil rights in the Aegean Sea. But after two summit meetings between their prime ministers in 1988, their relations are in the process of improving, despite outstanding differences on the Cyprus issue.

Any rapprochement between Greece and Turkey can only lead to an improvement of U.S.-Turkish relations by easing domestic opposition to larger aid levels to Turkey in the future.

THE DIFFICULTIES the U.S. has encountered in assuring the defence of Turkey in light of developments along the southern flank in the past decade are not unrelated to the coinciding growth of the U.S.-Israeli strategic relationship roughly during the same period of time.

While Israel is not formally a part of the Nato alliance (nor does it have a formal bilateral alliance with the U.S.), American spokesmen usually describe the focus of U.S.-Israeli cooperation as the extra-regional threat to the Eastern Mediterranean region.

That Turkey and Israel interact in the same strategic zone is, moreover, evident from the fact that both countries lie in the same area of responsibility in the U.S. unified command system.

From the standpoint of the multi-service operational commands of the U.S. military, the two countries have been placed in the area of the U.S. European Command (Eucum), rather than in the area of responsibility of the U.S. Central Command (Centcom), which since 1983 has been the American military framework with overall responsibility for the Persian Gulf and most of the Middle East.

One very important difference between the strategic roles of Turkey and Israel is that while the U.S. has sought to give Turkey a role in the East in support of Centcom's mission, it has been reluctant to project U.S.-Israeli cooperation eastward in a similar manner.

These limitations on the geographic focus of U.S.-Israeli cooperation were established in the early 1980s, because of American concern with Arab sensitivities. But these limitations do not sufficiently take into account the fact that many Arab states have historically sought quiet strategic understandings with Israel as they have with Turkey.

The growing convergence of the interests of the U.S. with Israel and a number of Sunni Arab states over the Iran-Iraq War might serve as a basis for the next administration to reconsider the westward focus of the U.S.-Israeli strategic relationship. The predominance of the Iranian threat in this region has certainly altered the political sensitivities of many Arab states to the U.S.-Israeli relationship, even with the Palestinian uprising in the territories.

Even if U.S.-Soviet relations improve further in the Nato-Europe area in the future, threats to U.S. interests in the Middle East will undoubtedly continue as a result of the activities of local factors, or even as a result of localized Soviet activity.

The development of strategic partners with shared interests both in the Eastern Mediterranean and the heartland of the Middle East, on the model of Turkey, might be the best way of meeting the complex and dispersed threats that are likely to face the Middle East in the future.

Dr. Gold is the director of the U.S. Foreign and Defence Policy Project at the Jaffee Centre for Strategic Studies, Tel Aviv University.

Dore Gold

also strengthened by the improved range of their land-based naval aviation arm. American naval forces had to allot an increasingly larger share of their resources for their own defence rather than for the support of Nato allies.

SECONDLY, the de-colonization of much of the North African littoral of the Mediterranean in the 1950s and its radicalization in the 1960s converted this coastline from an area friendly to Western forces to one that was increasingly hostile.

This allowed the Soviet Union in the 1970s and 1980s to obtain increasing access to military facilities

would actually obtain access to these potential facilities in the event of a crisis was questionable. Nonetheless, the buildup of the capabilities of these client states had to be factored into the local East-West balance. And in the cases of Syria and Libya, the potential contribution of their facilities and equipment to Soviet strength constituted a net weakening of the Western position along Nato's Southern flank and along the route of re-supply to Turkey.

Certainly in the case of Syria, Turkey must take into account the massive growth of its southern neighbour's military capabilities in

Legitimizing the regime

KENAN EVREN, the president of the Turkish Republic, will visit Washington next week. It will be the first visit of a Turkish head of state to the U.S. for 21 years, and it will be Evren's first visit ever to a Western country, even though he came to power eight years ago and Turkey is an important member of Nato.

There are a number of reasons for this. In recent decades Turkey has had periods of military rule, and its game could not always be considered democratic. Moreover, the Cyprus conflict created serious tensions between Washington and Ankara, which were exacerbated by the presence in the Congress of a powerful Greek lobby.

The efforts of the Armenian community in the U.S. to make the Congress adopt a resolution condemning what the Armenians call "the 15 Genocide" and which Turkey uses to regard as such, has also implicated the situation. In fact, President Evren's visit was originally scheduled for May 1987, but was called by him because the Congress was considering such a resolution at that time.

In the end it was not adopted, but Turkey continued to move towards full democracy, cancelling restrictions imposed on the activities of the politicians overthrown

in 1980 by the army, under the command of the then chief of staff, Kenan Evren.

The climate today is therefore much more favourable for a visit which should legitimize the present Turkish regime as a *bona fide* democracy, and open the door to other visits. Indeed, after Washington, President Evren is scheduled to visit London. This should advance Turkey's candidacy for membership of the European Community, which is supported by the U.S.

Erol Guiney
WASHINGTON

THUS, HOWEVER, does not mean that Washington and Ankara see eye to eye on all matters, including the problem of human rights. In Turkey, that is now essentially the problem of the Kurdish minority, which, according to some sources, numbers as many as seven to eight million.

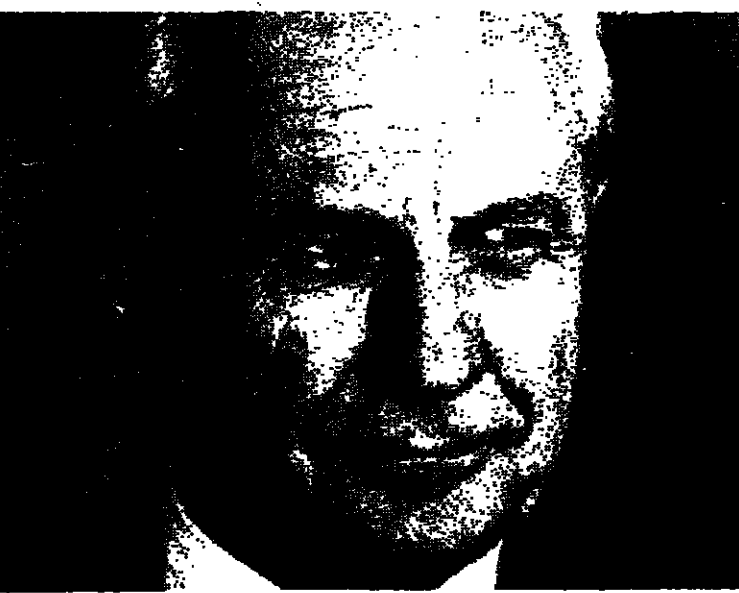
The administration wants them to enjoy more human, and especially more cultural, rights than they do now. But the government, which is confronted with the insurgency of

the Kurdish Marxist Workers Party, is complaining that Djelal Talabani, a Kurdish leader fighting Iraq who has concluded an agreement with the Kurdish Workers Party operating in Turkey, was recently received at the State Department.

There is little doubt that this potentially explosive problem will be brought up during the talks with Evren. So, of course, will the Cyprus question. The administration wants Turkey to reduce its troops on the island as a first step towards a solution. But Evren has said that his government is not ready to do this, and in spite of this month's visit to Athens of the Turkish prime minister, relations between the two Nato allies remain difficult.

TURKEY ESTIMATES that it does not receive from the U.S. military assistance commensurate with the importance for Nato of its geographical position, the bases it puts at Nato's disposal—in particular, the air base of Incirlik near Adana—and the size of its army.

The administration admits that in order to modernize the Turkish defence forces, \$1 billion a year is required for a number of years. But because of the opposition of the Congress, barely half of this is forthcoming.



Kenan Evren

(Camera Press)

Faced with a heavy foreign debt—which is now being refinanced—and inflation running at 75 per cent per annum, the Turkish government is interested not so much in aid as in trade; but strict quotas have been imposed on the quantity of Turkish textiles allowed to be imported into the U.S. which is another reason for Turkish bitterness.

Nevertheless, common interests remain stronger than all these causes of discontent. The two sides want to compare their evaluation of the developments in Turkey's neighbour, the USSR, and coordinate their reaction to them. Both are following the Gulf War closely, and Ankara's relatively good relations with Teheran could eventually serve as a channel of communication. Both countries can only be concerned by the arms race in the Mid-

dle East, with the introduction of increasingly deadly missiles and other weapons.

President Evren, as former head and symbol of the Turkish armed forces, pledged to preserve the conquests of Kemalism and to resist extremism from both right and left, is also a particularly welcome interlocutor for an American leadership concerned with the rise of fundamentalism and in need of allies in the Moslem world.

The Reagan administration will leave office power in a few months, and Kenan Evren's mandate will also expire in 1989. But this state visit will certainly help to reinforce relations between the two countries, dissipate some misunderstandings, and encourage Turkey to persevere on the road of democracy in a region where democracies are so rare.

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A new involvement

Menachem Shalev interviews Ambassador Koichi Tsutsumi on the eve of the visit here on Sunday of Japan's Foreign Minister Sosuke Uno, the first ever by a Japanese cabinet minister

THE MAIDEN visit of a Japanese foreign minister to Israel "does not signify any change in Japan's Middle East policy, but perhaps of Japan's involvement in the area," according to Tokyo's ambassador to Israel, Koichi Tsutsumi.

This Sunday's brief 24-hour visit to Israel by Minister Sosuke Uno has attracted world-wide attention. He is the first cabinet-level Japanese official ever to come to Israel. Uno's tour of the countries which are parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict is part of Japan's newly-forged policy of taking a more active and prominent role in world affairs.

"You can call it a change, but it's not a drastic change," Tsutsumi said in an interview this week. "Rather, it's an outcome of a gradual evolution. Japan is interested in playing a political role which is commensurate with our economic capability."

Japan's "economic capability" is second to none. But Tsutsumi shies away from the term "superpower" when applied to his country, both in the political and, surprisingly, the economic context.

"Japan is not a superpower," he says, "because we have a very big constraint. We denounce war, we don't resort to war, and the implication is that we don't retain the capacity for war beyond self-defence. We are determined not to become a military power, and without that we can't really play the role of a superpower."

"Another constraint is that geographically we are small. A superpower, by definition, is a continental power, like the U.S. or the Soviet Union. China could become a superpower. Some might call Japan an economic superpower, although I don't think that Japan is a superpower even in economic terms."

THE MIDDLE EAST is ranked a high fourth in Tsutsumi's enunciation of the priorities of his country's foreign policy. Preceding it are "the strengthening of the Free World," and as a direct consequence the ties with the U.S. and Western Europe - "countries with a similar way of life, similar value judgements." Third on Tsutsumi's list is the stability and prosperity of Japan's immediate neighbourhood in the Far East, and fourth is the Middle East. Asked about the absence of the importance of relations with the Soviet Union, Tsutsumi appears to depart from diplomatic niceties: "Bilateral relations with the Soviet Union," he says, "are not very important, other than in the East-West context." The Soviet Union "has not been a very good neighbour" to Japan, "and doesn't look as if it is going to become one." *Glasnost* and *perestroika* have yet to arrive at the Sea of Japan including presumably the disputed Sakhalin islands; Tsutsumi describes the Soviet Union as "a fearful and very strong neighbour" with whom Japan has to be "very careful."

In explaining the non-importance of relations with the Soviets, Tsutsumi also says that "their economic capacity is limited." In the same vein, he says of China that it is "very important," but



Japanese Foreign Minister Sosuke Uno will probably be more so in the future, as its economy develops.

China's economic potential could also be turned to competition against Japan, and therefore "China could become an even greater threat than the Soviet Union," Tsutsumi says, "not militarily - but economically."

TWO MAJOR factors influence the prominence of the Middle East in Japan's foreign policy considerations, says Tsutsumi: first, the importance of oil, and second, "because if this area becomes unstable it could be the starting point of the next world war."

Uno's visit to the area is "to have an exchange of views" on Middle East issues and to "register" Japan's interest in the peace process, Tsutsumi says. He describes it as a "beginning" of Japanese political involvement in the area, and although he shies away from any hint of possible Japanese "mediation," he does say that "Japan will do whatever it can to contribute."

Tsutsumi constructs a multi-tiered explanation for Japan's unprecedented decision to send its foreign minister here: first, it is an outgrowth of its wish for greater involvement in regional issues; second, "it is normal to visit a country with which one has diplomatic relations"; third, the *intifada* has attracted the interest of both the Japanese people and the Japanese government.

Over the past few weeks, Arab ambassadors in Japan have raised vocal objections to Uno's visit, depicting it as an unfavourable change in Japanese policy. Tsutsumi says, however, that Japanese diplomats have sounded out Arab reactions "in their capitals" and that the reaction was not wholly negative.

Tsutsumi gives a relatively benign description of Japan's largely pro-Arab attitude towards the Arab-Israeli conflict: it supports Security Council Resolution 242, "very strongly disapproves

of occupation by force", and supports the existence of Israel as well as the Palestinian right to self-determination. But in a briefing prepared by the Japanese Foreign Ministry in preparation for the visit, other elements of the policy are detailed, which are less palatable to Israeli ears: Japan interprets 242 as entailing a withdrawal from "all the territories occupied in 1967"; supports the Palestinian right to self-determination "including the right to establish an independent state"; and stipulates that "Israel should withdraw from East Jerusalem."

Japan also believes that "the participation in peace negotiations of the Palestine Liberation Organization, as a party to the problem representing the Palestinian people, is necessary."

NOTWITHSTANDING, RECENT years have seen what Tsutsumi describes as a "tremendous rate of increase in trade" between Israel and Japan. He cautions, however, that the major element in the increase is trade in diamonds - "this is all right but I agree with some of your people that you can't rely too much on diamonds."

Tsutsumi refrains from explicitly criticising Israeli business practices, but calls on Israel to place more marketing experts in Japan and to try to pinpoint areas of potential joint research and "not to just stay here and wait for the Japanese to come."

"We want to buy from Israel. Your people should concentrate on manufactured goods, such as high-technology items, electronics, biotechnology and pharmaceuticals. But this requires an effort, because there is a lot of competition and otherwise you will lose."

The recent decision of the Mitsubishi conglomerate, which for years adhered to a boycott of Israel, to sell motor cars in Israel "may or may not signal a trend," Tsutsumi says carefully, adding that "basically this depends on the decision of each enterprise."

SPEAKING OF his foreign minister's regional visit, the ambassador says bilateral issues will not play a major role; the foreign minister will concentrate on the conflict as a whole.

Finally, Tsutsumi seeks to dismiss widespread reports of the recently-emerged - and quite peculiar - trends of anti-Semitism in Japan. "Frankly, speaking my mind, this is a very trivial matter. A particular book sold hundreds of thousands of copies," he says of the popularity of publications depicting the "Jewish conspiracy" to undermine the Japanese economy "but this does not mean anything. Many books are sold that way."

"It's a fact that there is an interest in Jewish people among Japanese people, and books tend to be sensationalist and attention-getting by being anti-Semitic."

It is only "drops in the big ocean," Tsutsumi adds, and the anti-Semitic publications pose "no danger of long-lasting interest in the Japanese mind."

You know, he adds, "Japanese people don't know Jewish people to start with. They can't distinguish them from other people."

Thinking big

The Japanese foreign minister's visit here should not be squandered on minute details but should centre on grand political and economic ideas, Avraham Tamir, director-general of the Foreign Ministry, tells Menachem Shalev



Avraham Tamir (IPPA)

FOREIGN MINISTRY Director-General Avraham Tamir hopes that the brief Sunday visit of Japanese Foreign Minister Sosuke Uno will not be squandered on minute bilateral details, which he terms "nonsense." The talks with Uno, he proposes, should concentrate on the role Japan can play in stabilizing a potential Middle East peace and on grand proposals for Japanese investment here.

Tamir wants the Japanese to set up a "Japanese project" in Israel, as they have done in some Arab countries. This, he says, could be devoted to a massive research and development project on, for example, reclamation of the desert, or to an industrial project.

Japan can contribute to the peace process in two main ways, says Tamir. First, by continuing its present policy of encouraging economic ties with the area. Second, Japan, along with other industrial powers, could play a major role in the international subcommittee of the envisaged international conference which would deal with regional economic enterprises.

"For example," he says in what might appear to many to be a flight of fancy, "do you realize that in 50 years, the main water source for our area will be in Turkey?"

THE WORLD is changing, and the change is influencing Japan, Tamir says. He describes Japan's recent prominence in world affairs, including the Middle East, to the changing relations between the superpowers, and to its growing perception that unstable areas in the world have a highly detrimental effect on Japan's economy.

This newly forged policy is being carried out in two spheres. First, Japan's participation in the concerted economic policies of the world industrial powers - Tamir cites a Japanese plan to invest \$30 billion in the Third World in the next few years.

Second, increased economic involvement in the Middle East. From Israel's point of view, this has resulted in greater political dialogue between the two countries, and in the dramatic in-

crease in trade, which has more than doubled in the past two years.

TAMIR has no doubts about where Japanese priorities lie. The Arab market is a very significant factor in Japan's economy, not only because of its massive consumption of oil, but also because of the lucrative Arab purchasing market. And Japan also invests massively in Arab countries, thereby contributing to raising the Arab standard of living, and consequently spurring even more sales.

"On the other hand," he says, "Japan is quite aware of the fact that there can be no stabilizing process in the Middle East without Israel."

The balance between the two interests is expressed in Japanese explanations for Uno's visit. On the one hand, he is the first Japanese minister to visit here; but on the other hand, Japan insists that the visit does not signify a change in Japanese policy towards Israel.

Tamir downplays the importance of Japan's pro-Arab Middle East stance. "It is the type of thing that we have to read, to hear, and not pay attention to."

He believes that Japan's public espousal of an independent Palestinian state and withdrawal from all the territories, including East Jerusalem, is mainly "declarative" and meant to please Arab ears.

"But in talks with us," he reveals, "they say that they support the Shultz plan; that they support the PLO; that they support the Jordan; that they support the main elements of the April 1967 London Agreement. The fact is that this week's industrial summit in Toronto endorsed the Shultz plan, and Japan did not object."

TAMIR IS opposed to the gunbo policy - supported by some in the government and by many Jewish organizations in the U.S. - of publicly castigating Japan for the adherence of major Japanese companies to the Arab boycott.

"We have enormous potential to develop our economic ties with Japan," he says, "without naming the barricades over the boycott."

Japan is very much aware of Israel's clout in the U.S., Tamir says, but believes that this tool should be used discreetly. "I told our ambassador in Japan that we can reach exports of one billion dollars to Japan by 1990 without making too many waves."

Exports to Japan have risen since 1985 from \$209 million to a projected \$650m-\$700m this year. Tamir believes that there is enormous potential for developing trade even without changing boycott practices.

"Instead of fighting against the boycott, let's see what can be done. It's the big companies who are a party to the boycott. But there are hundreds of medium-sized Japanese companies - many as big as our Koor - who want to do business with us for strictly business reasons."

He criticizes Israeli industries and businessmen, who, he says, "have no mechanism to break into so-called unknown, or new, or distant countries. Even in the U.S. we are only realizing 20 per cent of our potential. It's always easy to whine 'They're against us, they're FLO-niks,' but this is nonsense."

Tamir preaches with fervour about the importance of the Far East, which he has visited several times. His pleas sometimes fall on deaf ears.

"The Far East has two-thirds of the world's population and its emerging economic superpowers," he says. "If we don't change our perception, we will lose the future."

The art of doing business

Economics Editor Shlomo Maoz looks at Israel's burgeoning trade with Japan, expected to reach a record \$1.2 billion this year

"TO DEAL WITH the Japanese is an art, but once you know this unique art you are in," says an Israeli businessman with long and positive experience with the Japanese. In recent years, industrial exports to Japan, excluding diamonds, have doubled annually. The 130 million Japanese are eager for imported goods, especially now that their government is encouraging consumption. So firms that have the patience to penetrate this huge market can do good business, says an expert on the Japanese market.

This year the trade between the two countries will reach a new record of \$1.2 billion. Of the \$700 million in Israeli exports, two-thirds are diamonds. Yet not all Israeli businessmen have opened their eyes to observe that the sun rises in the east. Most Israelis still turn to the old familiar markets of Europe and America. They are hesitant to turn to Japanese markets because of the distance, language barrier and mentality.

Japanese Foreign Minister Sosuke Uno's forthcoming one-day visit here may highlight the importance of Japan's worldwide economic role which will become increasingly political towards the end of the century. The signs are already here, with their interest in the Palestinian uprising.

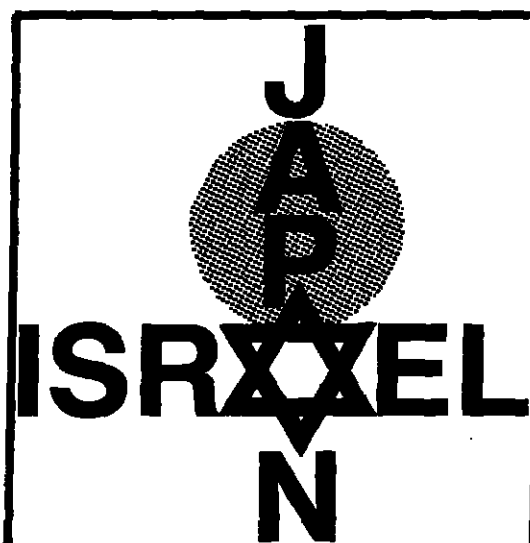
THE JAPANESE have ignored Israel for years for a number of reasons: firstly, Japan has virtually no Jewish community; secondly, the Japanese rely heavily on Arab crude oil, and thirdly, Israel has never been an important target for aggressive Japanese exporting.

For a long time, Japan has been reluctant to transform its economic power into political power. But the U.S., to which the Japanese are willingly subordinated, is pressing Japan for more political involvement within the international community. At the same time there is pressure on the Japanese government from American Jewry to deal openly with Israel by allowing Israeli goods into the Japanese market, overcoming their submission to the

Arab boycott. Japan is slowly turning towards Israel but with minor steps; this is far from satisfactory for Israel. Only four of the 15 big *zaibatsu* have not submitted to the Arab boycott; so, although difficult, it is possible for Israeli firms to penetrate the Japanese market. It can be done even with firms that do not want to expose themselves to Arab blackmail by resorting to straw companies or by keeping a low profile, but these devices are barriers to really free trade.

The Japanese have their own way of doing things. For years Israel has wanted to see Mitsubishi products here, but this big concern thought we were not important enough for them. Even when they eventually did decide to market their products here, they kept such a low profile that even our Embassy in Tokyo was surprised. Mitsubishi and Suzuki as well as Daihatsu are marketing more than 2,500 vehicles a year here through a third country. Officially they are still boycotting Israel, legal under Japanese law, since Japan, unlike the Western world, has no anti-boycott laws.

WHILE IN THE early 80s, the Arab countries bought about 10 per cent of Japan's total exports, this is now around four per cent or less. But Israel accounts for only 0.2 per cent - unchanged for a decade. So we are still far from competing with the purchasing power of the desert sheikhs, especially Saudi Arabia and Kuwait which absorb about half of the



Arabs' imports from Japan.

But business is business and the new trend, seen in the invasion by the Japanese car, reflects their desire to sell as many cars here as they can. Last year Fuji's Subaru continued to dominate the foreign car market here, representing about 25 per cent. And despite the yen's appreciation, which was supposed to curb Japanese imports, their cars retain the lead in the Israeli market. Asked why they

increased their car prices, a Japanese official here said that the Japanese practice is to hold markets for the long run rather than look for short-term profits. The Japanese traditionally do not nervously diversify their markets or their purchasing sources just because of changes in foreign exchange rates. "Loyalty and quality" is their motto rather than cheap passing deals.

Some Israeli firms have already found their way into Japanese markets. The Israeli diamond industry, which controls about half the world market, supplies some 25 per cent of the diamonds imported by Japan. But this industry has relatively low added value - only 18.5 per cent according to government experts - so its net contribution will not exceed \$100 million this year.

Other companies doing good business are usually in Hi-Tech. Scitex may this year export to Japan about \$20 million in cooperation with a local firm; some electronic companies expect to sell up to \$30 million; chemicals and bromide exports should reach \$20 million; Iscar products, \$20 million; processed food, \$20 million and irrigation equipment, \$20 million. Firms wishing to expand their business, or new firms, should usually find a local Japanese distribution agent, as Scitex has learned; it preferred to work with a local agent even though it offers industrial image-processing systems which have no local equivalents in Japan.

ISRAELIS ARE sending more delegations to Ja-

pan and taking part increasingly in exhibitions, but our exporters still have a long way to go. However, having a Japanese bank branch here or an Israeli bank branch in Tokyo depends on a political decision by the Japanese. Though the Japanese deny that they are all part of 'Japan Inc.', their companies still defer to the government. A real breakthrough in trade has to be accompanied by a bilateral financial accord which is hard to achieve without a change of attitude by the Japanese government.

Israel is now trying to build a more official economic relationship with Japan. Japanese Foreign Minister Sosuke Uno will be asked to agree to a meaningful bilateral agreement instead of vague statements. Israel wants to establish a bi-national economic committee to monitor the economic and trade relationship between the two countries, such as those existing between Israel and most of the Western industrialized countries. These committees meet twice a year to raise and solve problems arising out of trade practices and to encourage joint ventures and marketing to a third country. Another issue is the double-taxation treaties Israel has with some countries though not with the U.S. Actually, Israel has no bilateral treaty with Japan except a minor one on exchanging scientists. The existence of \$1.2 billion in trade between the two countries without such agreements is not a normal situation.

But the Japanese do not like to be pushed. So it depends on their desire to have a closer relationship with Israel. Israelis are learning the hard way how many variations of 'yes' ('hai') the Japanese have. When a Japanese says yes, what exactly does it mean? When a high-ranking trade delegation headed by Nihachiro Hanamura, the executive vice-chairman and president of Keidanren (the Japan Federation of Economic Organizations), was here last November, inexperienced Israelis saw it as breakthrough. They just did not understand the 'yes'. Now we are waiting for another breakthrough. Will we grow up?

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Lisa Perlman describes the role of the Imperial Family in today's Japan

A symbol of tradition

THE FAMILY does not have a name, yet it is the most famous, and among the oldest, in all the land. Its head goes by the title *Tenno*, often translated as "Son of Heaven," although the emperor long ago abrogated his traditional god-like image.

In a country that abounds in paradoxes, Japan's imperial family embodies perhaps the biggest paradox of them all.

Emperor Hirohito, the 124th imperial ruler in a dynasty that stretches back, unbroken, 2,648 years, boasts the longest reign in all Japan's history, nor can it easily be matched elsewhere. When he ascended to the Chrysanthemum Throne in 1926, at age 25, the name chosen for his reign by a committee of palace officials, as tradition dictates, was *Showa* - "Auspicious Peace."

The first decades were anything but peaceful, what with a failed military coup; Japan as a totalitarian state ruled by a military with delusions of grandeur; World War II and the first nuclear attacks in history; ruin and abject surrender.

Forty years of peace have seen what a *Far Eastern Economic Review* writer describes as "an astonishing comeback which brought Japan the power and prestige, envy and fear - at least economically - that no Asian nation has inspired since the time of Genghis Khan."

FOLLOWING THE war, the imperial family took on a new, diminished status - first shrouded in shame, as the emperor was blamed for the war and despised for the surrender, eventually emerging as a role model of good, contented family life. Furthermore, Hirohito was setting a precedent: he was the first emperor ever not to head an empire.

Today, the Japanese people, for the most part, regard the imperial family with indifference. It

has never had political clout, and with its spiritual role relatively non-existent (even though the emperor is still recognized as, and once a year dons the robes of, the high priest of Shinto), the one thing the family still remains for the country's 120 million inhabitants is a symbol of tradition - over two-and-a-half millennia of it.

Prof. Ben-Ami Shillony, head of the Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace, wrote a book for the Japanese market several years ago entitled *Tenno heika no keizogaku* ("The Emperor's Economics"). Curiously, it became a bestseller. He likened the Japanese to the Jews in their adherence to both tradition and modernity, adding that Israel and Japan are the "surprises" of the last century - two non-Christian, non-Western countries that have made an impact on the industrialized world.

Shillony attributes the book's popularity to a certain appreciation on the part of the Japanese that a foreigner regarded the emperor seriously, in a way they had almost become afraid of doing.

"The book gave them a confirmation that the emperor was not necessarily anachronistic, and may even be a symbol for the future," he says. "Even though they themselves are more or less indifferent to the imperial family, it pleased them that someone from outside was saying something good about the emperor."

IT SURELY cannot be too long before Hirohito, now 87, is succeeded by his elder son, Crown Prince Akihito, 58. (The imperial couple also have three daughters still living.) Twice it has been suggested that the father should abdicate - first, following the Japanese surrender in 1945, and again when Tokyo hosted the Olympic Games in 1966. The emperor was then about "retiring age" and Akihito was newly married. But Hirohito has quietly persisted - in his reign

as in his marine biology research (he has written 16 books on the subject) and as, indeed, in his personal life.

Akihito was the first member of the imperial family ever to marry a commoner. Michiko Shoda comes from an old Kyoto family that headed an empire of other sorts - soya sauce. It is rumoured that Princess Michiko has experienced difficulty assimilating into the family, and this is expressed in contrary behaviour.

The couple have three children - Prince Hiro, 28 (and promising to be married by 30), Prince Aya, 23, and Princess Nori, 19.

JAPAN IS still far from achieving the "internationalization" it is striving for; yet a cosmopolitan air has characterized the imperial household for most of this century.

The first signs of radical modernization came with the Meiji Restoration, which began in 1868 and was led by Hirohito's grandfather, Emperor Meiji. After 250 years of island isolation, Japan was opening its door a crack.

Hirohito himself was "Europeanized" when he visited Europe at age 20. He, too, set a precedent when he made the voyage: no member of the family had set foot outside the homeland before.

His first night in a foreign household was at Buckingham Palace, and he was struck by the ease with which the Prince of Wales, then 21, came and went and chose his own friends. The emperor was later to call this his first taste of freedom after having been "raised in a cage."

From that time, he adopted Western habits in dressing, eating and sleeping. Indeed, the family is very un-Japanese in this sense. As Shillony points out, all official photographs show them wearing shoes at home - normally taboo on Japanese floors - and French cuisine is the norm.

Hirohito completed his graduate studies at Ox-

ford, thus being the first heir to the Japanese throne to study abroad, and speaks both English and French, but his son is reputed to have a more thorough knowledge of the former, having had an American Quaker as his tutor in his early boyhood.

Although the imperial family are not allowed to express political views (nor do they have the right to vote), two members at least have shown a certain affinity with Israel.

Crown Prince Mikasa, the emperor's last surviving brother, is a former head of the Israel-Japan Association. Although efforts to invite him to Israel have so far failed, he speaks Hebrew and is an expert in Middle Eastern studies. Princess Chichibu, widow of another of the brothers, has for years given her name to fund-raising drives organized by the women's auxiliary at the Jewish Community Centre in Tokyo.

THE JAPANESE Constitution does not explicitly declare the emperor the head of state, but names him as its symbol, "deriving his power from the will of the people with whom resides sovereign power."

Do the changes bode an end to the world's longest-reigning family?

Shillony, who met the crown prince and princess when he was asked to write about Akihito, believes they do not; for with all the indifference, there is no hostility. Despite a few attempts to attack the emperor or his family during the Showa reign, the nation accepts them for what they are - a quiet remnant of their long, somewhat snobbish past.

Future feeling depends partly on how the rest of the world reacts to the accession of a new emperor. "If the Japanese see foreigners are interested, it will encourage the trend," Shillony predicts.



Teaching Israelis the 'invention of the devil'

Avraham Altman

IN OCTOBER 1965, 14 students signed up in the Hebrew University's first class in Japanese. During the 23 years since then, several hundred have studied the language that has been described as "an invention of the devil" because of the complications of its writing system.

Way back in the 4th-5th century CE, when the Japanese still had no way of writing their language, they borrowed the thousands of ideograms from the Chinese language. But finding them clumsy for writing Japanese, a totally unrelated language, they invented some 100 phonetic symbols of their own "to make it easier."

These, together with the Chinese ideograms - pronounced in an approximation of the Chinese and also in Japanese - became the Japanese written language. Fiendish, indeed.

THOSE FIRST 14 students were not the only pioneers. So was their teacher.

Having come on aliya in the autumn of 1949, after a stint as a Japanese language intelligence officer in the U.S. Naval Reserve during World War II, I took a B.A. degree in modern Japanese at London University in the mid-50s.

When I returned to Jerusalem, the Hebrew University offered to finance a Ph.D. in Japanese language and literature. Those were truly palmy days, when money for developing higher education in new directions was not lacking. The university was planning to expand what were then called "Oriental Studies" to embrace Japan, China and India.

And so, after five years in Japan and the U.S., I began teaching Japa-

nese language and, a few years later, Japanese history.

The growing number of language students and the course in history soon made it impossible for one person to teach all the subjects. The search began for a language teacher, and in the years that have followed, native-born Japanese studying at the university have raised the teaching of the language to higher levels.

One of the first was a doctoral student in ancient Egyptian, Hirokazu Oikawa, who had a licence to teach English in Japanese schools. He was followed by Mariko Tsujita, a student of political science, who together with her husband, Kyoji, a student of linguistics, wrote the first textbook in elementary Japanese for Hebrew-speakers.

Much has changed since the beginning of October 1965. Then, the teaching of Japanese language, history and culture had to be justified as a legitimate course of study in an Israeli university. Japan was perceived as far beyond the ken of most Israelis.

That view still surfaces occasionally in the media, but Japan's transformed position in the international arena, and a more sophisticated awareness here at home that knowledge about Japan and things Japanese is an important national resource, have wrought a change.

Today, the study of Japanese, in the department of East-Asian studies, is one of the most popular subjects in the Humanities faculty, and graduates contribute their knowledge and skills in government, in the Foreign Ministry, in the universities, in business, and in many cultural and esthetic pursuits.

Oil glut decreases dependence on Arabs

ENCOURAGED by decreasing dependence on oil supplies from Arab countries, Japan is becoming bolder in its economic and political relationships with Israel, according to sources in Tokyo.

Foreign Minister Sosuke Uno will visit Israel this month, the first official visit by a Japanese cabinet minister.

And bilateral trade, though still small, is expected to hit \$1.2b. this year. Israel's exports to Japan increased 84 per cent in the first three months of this year, compared with a year earlier, Israeli officials said.

"Relations [with Israel] are gradually expanding," a Foreign Ministry spokesman said last week.

Japan has had diplomatic relations with Israel since 1952, but its official contacts have been cautious because of dependence on oil from Arab countries and the Arab economic boycott of companies doing business with Israel.

But now there is a worldwide oil surplus, and Japan has cut its dependence on Arab oil to less than 60 per cent of its daily imports of more than three million barrels, from 75 per cent at the time of the oil crisis in 1973.

"Under the current conditions of an oil glut, there's much less concern about supplies from the Arab countries," one Japanese oil refiner said.

Meanwhile, pressure, particularly from the U.S., has been building on Japan to assume more responsibility in world peace-keeping efforts commensurate with its economic weight in the world, Western diplomatic sources said.

Uno is visiting Syria, Jordan, Egypt and Israel from June 22 to 27 to discuss the Middle East with leaders of those countries. Uno said in a statement last month that Japan was deeply interested in progress towards peace in the Middle East and added, "Japan is resolved to have dialogues positively with the countries concerned."

"It's the first stage of frank exchange with leaders of countries directly concerned with peace in the Middle East and the first occasion for Japan to express its concern," a Foreign Ministry official said.

In recent years, Japan has adopted a policy of quiet diplomacy in the Iran-Iraq conflict, limiting involvement to providing a ship-tracking radar system to contribute towards the safety of neutral shipping in the Gulf.

"Japan is still more heavily dependent on Gulf oil supplies than any Western nation, so it has to look for ways to show its concern short of direct intervention, such as sending peace-keeping ships into the Gulf," the Western diplomat said.

(Reuters)

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We are proud to record this moment of national unity, the setting aside of narrow interests for the good of the country. We thank the tens of thousands of members and supporters of the Public Committee for a Constitution, whose efforts and contributions made this achievement possible. It is an important achievement - but it is only a first step. The Knesset still has to give the bill a second and third reading. When it becomes law, it will open the way for the adoption of a written constitution.

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ANYONE AWARE of the fact that Abba Eban, when he was at Cambridge, was one of the brightest stars in the firmament of the University's famous Union, knows that he embodies all the best of what Lewis Carroll called "Anglo-Saxon attitudes." So I naturally assumed that he would accept his ouster from the Labour Party's Knesset list with a stiff upper lip. But I must confess that I was amazed by the buoyancy of his mood when I interviewed him this week.

He explained that this uplift in spirit was due to receiving messages from Labour Party members around the country expressing outrage at his rejection, and to reading glowing descriptions in the press extolling his services to the nation.

"One usually has to wait till one dies before reading such praises about oneself," he commented.

Despite the eulogies, he does not regard the setback as a kind of political death.

"It's not a tragedy, and I don't feel frustrated," he says. "In Israel, one does not have to be in the Knesset to make a contribution." He is greatly encouraged by a recent public opinion poll that placed him third in popularity in the party, after Shimon Peres and Yitzhak Rabin, and far and away the favourite choice for foreign minister.

"Normally, I'm very suspicious of public opinion polls," he says. "If they had taken a poll in the Sinai desert, 70 per cent would have come out in favour of the Golden Calf and against the Ten Commandments. A poll taken a week before Sadat's coming here would have been against surrendering any territory to him."

Walter Lippmann once told me that he thinks democracy is far too important to be left to public opinion polls. But in the case of the polls about me, I'm prepared to accept that they're correct."

He thinks that from the point of view of the party, his ouster was a great mistake, because of his ability to bring in votes from the large numbers of voters not committed to any party. But he considers that the La-

bour election, apart from its error in rejecting him, was a very good one. "Sadat said once that the only thing wrong with democracy is elections, but I accept that the world belongs to the young. Mind you, not everybody on the list is so young: look, for instance, at the people in the first six places."

He is particularly pleased that the election put an end to the myth that the immigrants from North African and Middle East countries are solidly right wing and opposed to the Labour Party's basic policy of being prepared to give up territory for peace.

EBAN WOULD not dream of bolting the party despite the slap in the face.

Some of his supporters have said that because of what has been done to him they will vote for one of the small left-of-centre parties, and he urges them not to do so. "Politics are made by the big parties," he insists.

While he will certainly vote Labour, he does not intend to take an intensive part in the election campaign. "It wouldn't make sense to expect me to do so. They chose new leadership - now let them lead."

One of his idols is Jim Hacker, of *Yes, Prime Minister*, created by Eban's nephew, Jonathan Lynn, yet the way he acted would hardly have earned the tribute of emulation by Jim.

As chairman of the Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee of the Knesset, he took several stands that did not please the leaders of the party.

He demanded that there should be ministerial responsibility for certain "affairs" which hardly brought credit to the nation, and he objected to one cabinet minister, however important, deciding off his own bat on the recent incursion into Lebanon.

"We learned from the Yom Kippur War that we should have collective decisions," he points out.

While admitting that he may have paid a certain price for his nonconformity, Eban suggests that there



Philip Gillon

may have been another reason why he was passed over: the return in glory of Lova Eliav.

He thinks it was assumed that they held much the same views and were supported by the same constituency.

"It was right to welcome him as a prodigal son," he says, "and he was entitled to the fatted calf. But not to the whole meal."

HIS GREAT regret is that he may be on the sidelines of what he calls Israel's most crucial elections.

"I wish I could withdraw what I said about past elections being crucial. We have never had elections like these are going to be. If Labour forms the government, we will certainly negotiate on the basis of Security Council Resolution 242. Shamir says he won't."

The whole basis of 242, Eban explains, is recognition of Israel's right to exist; Israeli withdrawal from the territories; recognition of the rights of the Palestinians; and an effort to find a framework for the two peoples to live together.

"Begin interpreted 242 this way, correctly, when he left the govern-

ment in 1970. The PLO excludes itself from consideration for recognition as the leader of the Palestinians because it refuses to accept 242. 242 lays down the rules of the club accepted by everyone."

Likud under Shamir repudiates 242. This appals Eban. It is as if Israel is voluntarily abandoning the document that gives it a right to exist. And he does not believe that there is the slightest possibility of Israel's getting away with such a repudiation. The whole world will oppose such an attempt.

"In 1947 we achieved an enormously original diplomatic breakthrough," he says. "A minority of 600,000 had the effrontery to claim a state it did not have, and the world community recognized our right. We did not present then a claim to 100 per cent of the territory that had been Palestine, and we accepted that we would share it with another nation. If we had claimed 100 per cent, or had said we would not share, we would have got zero."

"No nation anywhere will ever support a claim by us to 100 per cent. Partition is at the root of our creation. It was a great thing for us when Gorbachev told the Arabs that the Russians support territorial partition according to the borders on the eve of the 1967 war."

"Under 242, we can negotiate territorial adjustments, but not the principle of territories for peace. For us to reject 242 would be like a nation tearing up its own birth certificate."

"That is a very important point," Eban concedes. "There is a great gap between the reality of our power and the myth that we can be easily destroyed. Unfortunately, we live with our previous memories of our vulnerability as Jews, not with knowledge of our present strength."

"We think of ourselves as being another Costa Rica and of the PLO as having the power of Attila the Hun or the German Wehrmacht."

"Arafat may be as malevolent as Hitler, but he isn't as powerful. We insult ourselves with this talk about the threat to our existence. The PLO can muster just over 7,000 men with limited arms: you could put the whole lot into Madison Square Garden and still have room for two other conventions."

"They may destroy some individual Israelis, but they cannot destroy Israel. When you ascribe to your enemy more strength than he has, you are working for him."

The right wing claim that we must hold the territories for security reasons, says Eban. "One encouraging thing that has happened is that we have had heads of the military --

former chiefs of staff and of intelligence, officers leading fighting units - telling us that we can defend the country without holding the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. So there is no reason why we should try to impose our rule over an area where we constitute 2 per cent of the population."

WE TURN TO the question of Zionist values, and Eban says that we seem to be passing through a sad phase when many of them are endangered.

"Zionism began with Jewish longing and went through three periods, symbolized by Herzl, Weizmann and Ben-Gurion. The first was a belief in liberal democracy, about which Herzl knew more than he did about Judaism. Under Weizmann it was scientific rationalism, pragmatism. Ben-Gurion's was the period of socialist pioneering. Now, I'm afraid, we're in a period of confusion and delusion, in which some believe that we can hold everything."

He agrees that it might possibly be described as the period of paranoia. Yet he is hopeful that there can be changes. He points out how quickly Sadat swung the population of Israel around.

"I know people say that Hussein is no Sadat. They are unfair to Hussein."

"To Sadat we said, 'We'll give you everything for peace.' To Hussein we say, 'We'll give you nothing.' What is clear is that the present position is untenable. The army can't solve the problem."

Eban finds that he is busier at the moment than he has ever been.

"I still have six months to serve as chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, and I regard my service on this committee as the most important thing I've done for years."

"At the end of the week I go to England to lecture to the Royal Defence College and Chatham House [the Royal Institute of International Affairs]. I'm making a four-part TV series carrying on from where *Heritage* left off. My publishers are demanding books that I've promised."

Rabbi Rosen of Romania A matter of survival

CHIEF RABBI Moshe Rosen of Romania is a rare case in the annals of Jewish leadership. His community numbered 400,000 souls when he assumed his post in 1948; but it has dwindled to about 20,000 today. He takes great pride in this, however, because almost all of the Jews who left Romania have made their home in Israel.

This week his contributions to Israel and the Jewish people were recognized by the Hebrew University, which awarded him its Solomon Rubik Prize. The citation noted that "under difficult and dangerous conditions, Rabbi Rosen fostered not only Jewish survival at home, but also living links with Jews beyond the Iron Curtain. He has brought Romanian Jews into the world Jewish community, and has facilitated the entry of vast numbers of Romanian Jews."

"His boldness, initiative and persistence enabled and encouraged the facilities and institutions that permit a Jewish community to function, such as synagogues, welfare, ritual slaughterhouses, matzot on Pessah, kosher food and a network of Hebrew schools."

During the waning days of Stalin's reign of terror, Rosen was sure that he would not live to mark his fifth year in office.

In an interview this week in Jerusalem, he recalled that "if Stalin had lived for another two weeks, I would be dead. They had it all prepared: jail, the case against me, a big show trial. My wife and I both knew that this would be the end. For six months I lived like this, ready for the knock on the door during the night."

"But Stalin died, in early 1953." Rosen recounts these harrowing days with eyes closed and hands folded carefully on his lap. He rocks slowly back and forth in his chair with a sombre look on his face. As he reaches the end of the story, however, his eyes open and his short, rotund figure comes to life. "It wasn't the only time that I was saved by a miracle," he declares triumphantly.

"Even after Stalin died things didn't get better right away. I still

had agents of the secret police around my house for a long time."

"But I decided to test the new situation anyway. I felt that I should have a celebration to mark my fifth year in office, in June 1953. So I went to the Jewish Community - the Yevseksia - who ran the community, and asked permission. I waited for two months, and the answer was yes. We were only allowed to hold a modest celebration, but that was my biggest yom tov."

The days when the Jewish community was run by the Yevseksia were the worst, Rosen recalls. "They wanted to destroy, to kill..." His eyes close again and his voice trails off in a cloud of memories that bring back fear, persecution and humiliation.

Charles Hoffman

When the Communists took over in Romania in 1946, they installed the Yevseksia, a creature of Stalinism. In 1948, a few months after Israel was established, the Soviet Union brutally turned against Zionism. The Zionists in Romania were expelled from the community leadership and thrown in prison, where they were held until the Yevseksia itself was abolished in 1955.

"When I succeeded in establishing direct contact with the *goyim*, that was the beginning of the redemption for Romanian Jewry."

Rosen uses the term *ahalia d'geula* to describe this turning point, when he created a direct relation between the Jewish community and the regime. This term, coined by Religious Zionism, also has messianic overtones connected with the establishment of the Jewish state. Rosen has his detractors in Israel, but no one has ever accused him of false modesty.

Rosen was born in 1912 into a prominent rabbinical family in Molotva, and was ordained just before the outbreak of World War II. His father was a highly regarded halachic authority and his brother was a rabbi in the town of Auschwitz. His brother was killed with the other

Jews there before it became the site of the infamous factory of death. Half of Romania's 800,000 Jews perished in the Holocaust.

His remarkable story will soon be available to the world, when his memoirs are published by Weidenfeld and Nicholson.

EVEN BEFORE the advent of Communism many of Romania's Jews had become detached from their Jewish heritage.

"When I studied in Bucharest in the 1930s, there was not one *talmud tora* there. It is paradoxical, but the revival of Jewish life in Romania began under Stalin. In 1949, we started a *talmud tora* in Bucharest with 19 pupils. It was all illegal. Since then, both legally and illegally, tens of thousands of Romanian Jews have passed through these schools, which the children attend after regular school hours."

"The education system that we built in Romania is completely 'unnatural.' Communist law allows freedom of religion, but it prohibits the teaching of religion. In all the Communist countries over the years, only the Jewish community in Romania has been allowed to maintain Jewish schools."

Judaism has also been transmitted to the younger generation through choral groups and communal celebrations of Shabbat and holidays. In addition, since 1956 a community newspaper has been published in Romanian, Yiddish and Hebrew. It is the only Hebrew publication in the Communist bloc.

"We succeeded in saving an entire generation," Rosen exclaims, pounding his fist for emphasis. "Look, several years ago we brought our choir from Bucharest here. Over 3,000 of our former *talmud tora* pupils, who are now here, came to see us."

What explains the exceptional attitude of the Romanian government to the Jewish community?

"That's a good question. But you'll have to ask anyone but me for the answer!" He punctuates his response with a deep belly-laugh.

Part of Rosen's secret of survival is related to the manifold contacts



that he developed throughout the Jewish world since 1961, when he was first allowed to travel outside the Communist bloc. Romania's Jews were the first community in a Communist country to be allowed to affiliate with the World Jewish Congress. In addition, the Joint Distribution Committee has for many years supported the cultural and welfare institutions of the community.

"My contacts with the Jewish world helped me build up my position. It was harder for them to eliminate me like the others. My contacts abroad opened the eyes of the Communists. They realized that it was better to work with the rabbi than with the Yevseksia."

Romania's independent posture vis-a-vis Moscow, which has been expressed in foreign affairs and other spheres over the past 25 years or so, was also a major factor in maintaining Romanian Jewry's lifeline to Israel and the Jewish world.

Since 1964, Rosen has served as the head of the Federation of Jewish Communities, in addition to his post as chief rabbi. As the official head of the community, he also became a member of parliament.

In 1961 he also visited Israel for the first time. He was allowed to make quiet visits to Russia in 1955 and 1975, but his first official visit to the Soviet Union occurred only earlier this month. He came as the guest of the Russian Orthodox Patriarch to take part in the ceremonies marking 1,000 years of Christianity in Russia. He spoke in the Kremlin and in the Moscow synagogue, and came away impressed by the burgeoning cultural freedom under glasnost.

THE SITUATION of Romanian Jewry began to improve in earnest after 1958 when, in Rosen's words, "they opened the gates of aliya, which had been closed since 1952."

Within two months, tens of thousands of Jews had signed up to leave.

"But then the 'gevalt' started from Jerusalem. Golda, who was then foreign minister, and Ben-Gurion started to shout, people here started to attack the Romanians for not letting more Jews out. And then the gates slammed shut!"

"Finally, I was able to persuade people here to do things my way, without 'gevalt,' without shouting. Aliya from Romania started up again, but quietly. From 1959 to 1975 your censor here wouldn't allow one word to be printed about it. This was the 'sha-sha' (hush-hush) aliya - and 200,000 Jews got

out during that time. My line triumphed, not theirs. In 1968, after all, the Communist countries except Romania had cut their relations with Israel because of the Six Day War. President Shazar said to me that I was right and he was wrong about how to deal with the regime."

"Look at the results: 97 per cent of Romania's Jews are here. Nothing succeeds like success."

Mention of this struggle naturally leads us to the problems of Soviet Jews. Our interview took place two days after the cabinet approved a decision that would eliminate the "drop-out" option for Soviet Jews. Anyone with a visa for Israel will be required to fly to Israel through Bucharest, and won't be able to travel elsewhere from Vienna.

Rosen spews forth his contempt for this move. "Now they have been reduced to pressuring Jews to come to Israel! If Herzl were to arise from the grave today, he would drop dead from shame. This decision is a shameful blot on Zionism. It will only create a new category of 'prisoners of Zion,' people who are forced to come here."

"I have just come from a visit to Russia, and I have heard what people there are saying about this. It's not good."

"Most of the Russian Jews who leave are *mehagrim* (immigrants) trying to get away from socialism. The Romanian Jews are *olim*, they are motivated for aliya because we educate them for this."

As he looks back over the struggle for Soviet Jewry, his voice takes on a hard edge:

"The whole approach of the Russian Jewry movement was wrong. They said 'Let My People Go!' (*sha lah et ami*), but they forgot the rest of the verse: 'That they should worship me' (*veya'avduni*). All the religious and cultural elements were taken out of the struggle. The slogan now is 'Repatriation,' and look what you've got - a 91 per cent drop-out rate."

"Aliya is not the main issue for Russian Jews. I told that to Golda and she was ready to eat me alive. said that the main issue is saving the Jewish people. Aliya is a way to save the Jewish people, but to have aliya you need Jews first. You need Jewish education. You have to give them what they need to stay Jews even to be secular Jews if that's what it takes."

"The people here didn't take advantage of a fraction of the opportunities that existed in Russia to develop Jewish culture. And they look askance at me for putting so much

(Continued on Page 17)

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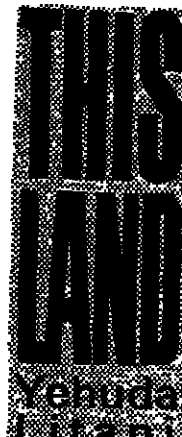
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MORDECHAI AIVAS does not know exactly what year or date he was born. But he knows that he was born about 75 years ago in the town of Naghada in the Kurdish district of Urmiah - now located in the north of Iran near the Soviet border. "We are the Kurdish Jews who speak the *argum* dialect," says Aivas. "It is like your Yiddish, and it is used only by Jews in the north of Kurdistan. In the south of Kurdistan the Jews use a different dialect."

His childhood memories are of a very conservative community. The elders guided the community in every aspect of life. Mordechai remembers that attending prayers every day at the synagogue was obligatory. "We used to sit there on the ground and pray like the Yemenites do," he says. When he was less than two years old, his father died. When his mother remarried, it was to a man whose name, like his, was Mordechai. So the family decided to call him Moorte - a Kurdish nickname for Mordechai.

"If anyone had a watch he was considered wealthy," says Mordechai. "I do not remember seeing cars there; we had no electricity. After butchering a cow, the parts would have to be buried deep in the ground in order to keep them fresh. At home there were no chairs - everybody would sit on rugs around the table. When the children wanted to play football, our mothers would knit us a woolen ball."

There was no doctor or pharmacy in the area and anyone in need of attention would be treated by known "healers" - elderly men and women who used medicinal herbs. When Mordechai was about five years old he fell from the roof and broke his arm and two fingers. The healer prepared a cast made of eggs, flour and other ingredients. One of his fingers remains twisted to this day.

Mordechai remembers being kidnapped by gypsies when he was about seven years of age. His mother summoned some men who took to their horses and rescued Mordechai after a chase.

"Your day there started by attending prayer at the synagogue, then *talmud* from seven in the morning to seven at night," says Mordechai. "On Saturdays we would go to the Gadar river near town. It was very dull - sometimes too dull - and that is why it was so interesting when the Russians came."

Towards the end of World War I the new Communist regime in the USSR was involved in border skirmishes with the local Kurdish communities near their borders. "The Jews helped the Russians against the Moslem Kurds," says Mordechai. "Russian-Jewish officers came to pray at our synagogue, we children used to buy cigarettes for the Russian soldiers and keep the change. When the Russian army entered our town they killed one of the Jewish residents by mistake. The elders of our community complained to the Russian commander who asked the Jews to start wearing peaked caps to set them apart from the Moslems. We have done so ever since."

"That was also the first time we saw bicycles. The Russians brought them. Our elders called them 'wind horses.' Before the Russians left the area, they called our elders to their headquarters and told



THE VALUE OF LABOUR

them to leave town immediately. We had been helping the Russians and feared that the Moslems, with whom we had got along very well until then, would take vengeance.

"So we had to flee. We loaded whatever belongings we could on to our donkeys and fled in the direction of the Iraqi border. Yes, all the Jewish inhabitants of the town of Naghada in one long caravan. This was really something. Most of us were riding donkeys and a few of us, mainly the children, on foot. But for us children it was real fun: we didn't have to go to school and prayers every day."

"OUR DESTINATION was naturally Eretz Yisrael. We knew of no other place - like people today speak about America or Europe. For us there was only one place besides home in Naghada - and it was Eretz Yisrael, the holiest of all. Our elders did not know what direction Eretz Yisrael lay, except that it was beyond the Iraqi border. Can you imagine a whole community - thousands on donkeys and horses, some walking -

not knowing exactly where their destination was, except that it was across the border? And on the strength of that, they took men, women, old people and children and three Scrolls of the Law on a long and tiring journey. A journey to the unknown."

"We used to have *shlichim* from Jerusalem visiting us. They used to bring bread and *halallah* which they claimed they brought all the way from Jerusalem. We used to cut the bread into little pieces and distribute it to every home in Naghada. There may have been people from our community who knew more than we did about the Promised Land, but what we knew was mainly from the Bible and other holy books."

"We made for Sulaimaniya and then went on to Kirkuk, where our family stayed for about five years. My stepfather used to sell fabric which he carried on his shoulder while walking in the town markets. We had to stay because we were left penniless and my stepfather needed to make some money for us to settle in Eretz Yisrael."

The family went to Eretz Yisrael via Baghdad.

From there, they intended to make for Damascus. But on their way, they were attacked by bandits who killed two Arabs who came along with them and left them almost stripped of their clothing. But they managed to conceal their gold from the bandits. "The Jewish community in Damascus let us stay in the synagogue for more than six months," recalled Mordechai.

"I think it was in the year of 1925 and there was some kind of war between the French who then ruled Syria, and the Druse. For about six months I was digging trenches for the French in the front line. The Druse used to come and shoot at us at close range - but thank God, nothing happened. My mother did not know what I was doing. I had to sneak out of the synagogue every day. But I made some money, for the first time in my life."

From Damascus, the Aivas family and another three families from Naghada who had accompanied them on their long route were with them since they left this town, left for Beirut. There too, the Jewish community took care of them and paid two Arab guides to take them across the border, to Palestine.

"IT TOOK US two days to cross the border by foot and then we took a car to Safad. There people told us: you are already in Eretz Yisrael you have nothing to fear."

"But we knew nothing of Safad or Tel-Aviv or Haifa, we only knew Jerusalem, the holy city. So we went to Jerusalem. We stayed in Mea Shearim in one of the small synagogues for about three weeks. When an old man from the quarter asked us where we intended to live we told him we had no idea and he suggested we ask the *va'ad* *hakehillah* for money to pay the rent."

"The people there asked us where we were from. Kurdistan, we answered. So you go back there, they said, we don't need you here!"

"Well we had to live somewhere and we decided to move to the Jewish Quarter in the Old City. It was the cheapest place in town: one Palestine pound for a room for a whole year in a house whose landlords were Arabs. I started working as a stone quarrier in the new neighbourhoods of Jerusalem: Rehavia, Bayit Vegan, Beit Hakerem, Talpizot. We were earning then, in the late 1920s about 12 piastres a day, but it was quite a day - sunrise to sunset, almost 12 hours of non-stop hard labour."

"Imagine, we quarriers had to walk all the way from the Old City to Bayit Vegan carrying our tools - our hammers weighed about 12 kilos. We woke at three a.m. and left half an hour later. And then a walk of one-and-a-half or two hours through the hills to a new neighbourhood."

"When you listen to my stories now you cannot imagine what it was like in those days. Today you simply drive there and it takes you five or 10 minutes. But we had to walk there and back and all for 12 piastres!"

"Wherever Jews were building in Jerusalem - we were there. There were people working with us then, veterans of *gduh* *h'eved* (the labour battalion), who later became famous like Mordechai Ish-Shalom, Mar-Chaim from Kibbutz Ramat Rachel and the late Moshe Baran. Our wages increased: from 12 piastres in the late 1920s, to 32 piastres in the early 1930s. But you must know that quarrying is the simplest work in construction; builders, plasterers or tilers are far more important. They also earn more. But we came from Kurdistan, we did not have any previous experience in building, we were strong people - so they told us

to start as quarriers and we were stuck with it for the rest of our lives."

IN 1928, Mordechai Aivas married a young woman from his home town, and after the 1929 riots they left the Old City and moved to Sarei Yisrael near Mea Shearim. For more than a week during the riots Mordechai stayed with a friend in the new city, cut off from his own family in the Old City, who did not know what had befallen him.

Aivas, a Histadrut veteran - he joined in 1927 - was ordered to act against contractors who did not employ Jewish workers: "We used to come to their building sites and cause damage to the building. Sometimes we would spill tar on the stones, or drill a hole in the roof. After such 'visits' the contractor usually understood the message and started hiring Jewish workers."

He reads in Hebrew but he has not really managed to write. He learnt the language in evening lessons during the 1930s, after the long days of work on the building site. He was an active member of the Hagmah during the 1930s and 1940s and fought in Jerusalem in the War of Independence.

Mordechai Aivas still lives in a rented flat. "I could never save enough to buy," he says "I never earned a lot." He has a longtime affiliation to Mapai, now the Alignment ("since the late 1920s with Moshe Baran") but he thinks that the Palestinians from the territories should be dealt with more toughly.

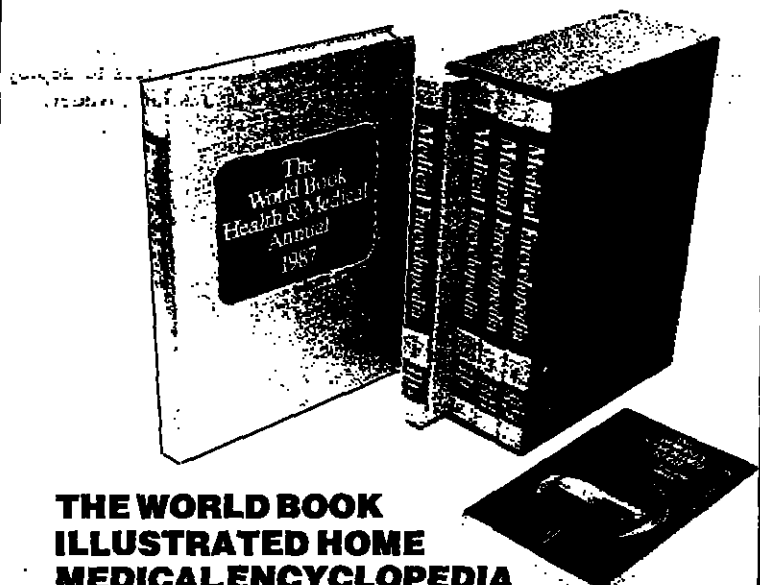
"When the Russians came to our area in Kurdistan, one of their officers was assassinated. They decided to retaliate by burning a whole village. Nothing was left of the village, not even chickens. I am not saying that we have to behave like the Russians but I think that whoever throws a stone at us should be killed at once. Once they've learnt the lesson they won't repeat it."

But what about Nablus and Ramallah, Hebron and Jenin, I asked the retired builder. "I am not a politician," he says "maybe Nablus or Jenin could be returned. I do not know. But basically I don't trust the Arabs. I do not believe them. They do want to come to make peace with us; they really want to throw us into the sea. Even if we give them Tel Aviv it wouldn't satisfy them, they want everything, and we don't have to let them take it. We have to be on our guard, just like the Twenties, Thirties and Forties. A lot has changed since then, but basically it's really all the same."

The veteran builder lives in a religious neighbourhood in Jerusalem. "But I am not like these religious Jews," says Mordechai. "I respect religion but they are draft-dodgers, these Ashkenazim. Instead of serving their country in the army they live on *schmorr*."

"Nowadays the quarrying systems are more modern than the systems we used 40 and 50 years ago," says Mordechai. "Today they do in one day what we used to do in a month or more to do with our own hands. But what's really important is that we did work with our own hands."

"Now it's only Arabs who work in construction. Whoever would think nowadays of establishing something like the labour battalion? Labour? That's the name of a party. We are the managers and the Arabs are the workers. We are ashamed of being manual workers, the Arabs are not. But we have to remember that whoever works with his own hands - not just gives the orders - is the one who will own the land. At least, that's what we used to tell the Jewish bosses who hired Arab workers 50 and 60 years ago."



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The Likud's newest general

GENERALS IN politics. Recently that phrase has been synonymous with the activities of the Council for Peace and Security which advocates territorial compromise on the West Bank in exchange for peace, and with the decisions of two reserve generals, Ori Orr and Avigdor "Yanosh" Ben-Gal, to participate in the Labour Party's election campaign.

Now a general from the other side of the political fence has joined in the fray. Aluf (res.) Yehoshua Saguy, former chief of the IDF's Intelligence Branch, recently stepped up his dual campaigns to join the Likud's Knesset list and to be elected mayor of Bat Yam.

In a recent interview at his Bat Yam home, Saguy spoke about the Council for Peace and Security, the public debate on the future of the West Bank, the *intifada*, and his aspirations in his new political career.

Q: Do you believe that the Council for Peace and Security has succeeded in fulfilling one of its stated objectives, namely to put the issue of "territory for peace" on the public agenda for the next elections?

A: To my great sorrow, the subjects of the elections this year focus, in practice, on the future of Eretz Yisrael.

In former elections, other subjects such as inflation and social issues were prominent as well. But either they've been solved, as in the cases of the inflation and our leaving Lebanon, or, as in the social sphere, they've simply been pushed aside.

This question of peace and security - in other words: what kind of peace can the state of Israel expect, or what poses a danger to Israel on the path to this peace - is what will be at the focal point of the upcoming elections.

The council has set itself the goal of putting the question on the public agenda, but the council isn't arguing with anybody. It's a fact.

I'll give you an example. So far I've participated in three panel discussions - with Motta Gur, with Yanosh Ben-Gal and with Ori Orr. Not one of these panels was given objective coverage in any section of the media. The arguments of only one side were reported.

Worst of all, the council has now become a tool, not to convince Jews in Israel, but to convince the Jews of the world - and maybe even worse, perhaps to convince the *goyim* - and to create seemingly outside pressure. [Outsiders] can point and say: Look, here are these authoritative generals charging that Israel can certainly give up Judea and Samaria. I'll tell you one of the things that especially bothers me about the council. It's that at least some of these same generals who are making these charges today were those who said, in 1967 during the month-long war before the war, that from the borders of June 4 it was impossible to defend Israel, and who therefore pressed the late [Prime Minister Levi] Eshkol to decide on war, and immediately.

The topographic conditions have not changed since then, the distribution of the Jewish population in Israel hasn't changed, and the country's infrastructure hasn't changed. Only a few basic things have changed, and all for the worse: the size of the armies has increased, terrorism has assumed new dimensions, the Arab armies have improved technology, there have been advances in air forces, ground-to-ground missiles, the use of chemical weapons... So if only these conditions have changed, how do these people dare, even for the sake of elections, to say the things they have said?

Q: Are you in favour of setting up a parallel, Likud-oriented group to correct this imbalance?

A: First, I think the Likud must come out with its own "statement of beliefs" in response to this phenomenon. Second, I think there is room for a respected university to analyse these questions academically, in an apolitical atmosphere... For example, the demographic problem. Numbers have been declared by all and sundry. I for one have yet to see any authentic publication of an academic institution that has impartially analysed the demographic issue.

The council should identify itself politically, and stop pretending to be an apolitical organization. It's dishonest. The council was set up for the upcoming elections, and once the elections are over I don't see how it will continue to exist... If they declared their party allegiances, then at least their views would be legitimate from the point of view of the public. We must not throw sand in the eyes of the public. I don't think



Defence Reporter Kenneth Kaplan speaks to former army intelligence chief Yehoshua Saguy, the latest ex-general to join the political fray

members of the council really believe everything they're saying.

Hussein is preferable to Arafat, who won't accept the existence of Israel. But as long as you can't create an influential public opinion in Jordan, there's no point in meeting. The council knows this. Everyone who talks about the Allon plan today is dealing in the realm of the hypothetical.

Q: What is your stand on "territory for peace": do you accept it in principle?

A: No. The Land of Israel is the last sanctified value left to the people of Israel. Therefore I say that the subject of relinquishing territory in exchange for peace is really another question: whether or not the Israeli people will continue to survive in the Land of Israel. Everything else is cosmetic. Why should I even discuss how far I am willing to withdraw without being given anything in return? That's why I say let's not get ourselves stuck in a situation that we can't get ourselves out of.

Q: Can you foresee any changes that would permit a compromise?

A: Not now, not until the regimes around us become democratic.

Why has this whole subject arisen at all in Israel? Because we live under a democratic regime, and in a democratic country public opinion has the utmost importance. Public opinion has absolutely no importance in Egypt, none in Jordan, none in Syria, and so on... You don't have even one meeting point that would allow you to arrive at negotiations.

Since the Council for Peace and Security knows all this, it means that what they're after is buying some kind of limited and unguaranteed quiet in return for their concessions. Further, anyone who enters negotiations with the Allon Plan as their opening proposal will end up debating future sovereignty over East Jerusalem. So their position is not nationally responsible.

Q: How, in a democratic society, can you push this debate on the future of the territories, on territorial compromise, aside?

A: In the most simple way possible. As long as you have no idea of what the solution to the problem is, don't pretend that you have. The state of Israel would never have been founded if the demographic question had been a central consideration.

The question is how much of a risk I'm prepared to take on a path towards what may be suicide.

From the security stand-point, this debate will bring upon us the worst thing of all. It will bring war - not from within, but from without.

The debate is irresponsible, and the Council for Peace and Security is irresponsible in what it does.

Q: Do you see any changes in the concept of strategic depth in recent years?

A: Yes, a change for the worse. As arms have become more modern, faster, more accurate, so I need more strategic depth and not less in a country like Israel. To my sorrow, the time may come when we find that a border along the Jordan River is the absolute minimum that will provide us with security. I don't believe that we have to pursue a *lebensraum* policy like Hitler, and enlarge the area we control, but certainly we must maintain what we have.

We must not make the same mistake we made in Sinai, and give up all of our strategic rear for a very fragile peace.

Q: Where do you see the *intifada* going? Who is helping it continue? What long-term impact do you think it will have on the political situation in the territories, and on the political situation in Israel?

A: The main question regarding the *intifada*'s legitimacy is whether or not we're taking a balloon and blowing it up out of all proportion because it's an election year. By the way, I believe absolutely that if this weren't an election year, and even if there were a Labour government, something I don't particularly favour, things would have looked very different after a week or two and wouldn't have carried on until today.

I think the disturbances are taking place for two main reasons. One, we, by our own hands, have eroded the deterrent ability of our security forces in Judea, Samaria and Gaza by limiting their freedom to react and publicly announcing what those limitations are.

Two, we have provided [the Palestinians] with hope. You can have a disturbance of any size. If you don't have any hope that the disturbance will achieve some objective, then it becomes merely an outburst of passions that spends itself in one, two or a few days.

When you have a portion of the Israeli people constantly discussing the subject of an international conference, of making territorial concessions, of creating a Palestinian state of speaking to Arafat, then they [the Palestinians] rightfully say with a sense of confidence that there is hope, and that they must try a little harder to get things to move.

Remove the hope, restore the deterrent ability to our forces, and the *intifada* is finished.

There's no other country in the world that, when confronted with disturbances on this scale, does not employ force. If burning a tyre on Fifth Avenue in New York and see how the police deal with you there.

Q: Let's assume that the Likud wins the elections, and make clear, as you suggest, that there will be no Palestinian state in the West Bank. What do you see happening with those currently participating in the uprising?

A: There are two possibilities, and both will come about, believe. One - and apparently this will be the majority reaction - acquiescence to the status quo, because it's not so bad. Because it's better than anything a neighbouring Arab country can offer.

Two, there will be those - and they will be a minority, an extreme - who will leave Israel and join terrorist organizations abroad, and terrorism will continue. But since I don't see any way of ending terror except by suicide, that doesn't bother me.

Q: What aspirations do you have for your new political career?

A: I'm pursuing two paths at the same time. I'm competing in the Likud's internal elections for a spot on the Knesset list and I'm running to be mayor of this town. These are my aspirations for the time being.

Why am I doing both at once? Because they're connected. On the one hand, the true expression of the knowledge and experience I have in the realm of security can be found in the Knesset and not in the city, while my desire, the challenge, is to build and to have an impact on my immediate environment can be served as mayor of Bat Yam.

"It's probably nothing..."

but what if it's something?

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The politics of Labour democracy

ONE YEAR ago, Eliahu Navi, longtime mayor of Beersheba, was led by Labour's Arrangements Committee that he could not have a realistic spot on the party's Knesset list because they already had their pick. Under today's democratic procedures, the party's Central Committee—not just the oligarchy—decides who the fortunate Iraqi will

This, of course, is a step forward. Carried to an extreme, it might even let the Iraqis pick their own Iraqi. While the trend was in that direction, Labour shied away from extremism of this sort. In fact, candidates chosen in something resembling primaries in Labour's constituent districts had comparatively rough going.

The Central Committee very rarely played the role of a deliberative body, which made its own decisions, and not a forum that registered decisions made elsewhere. As such, its own democratic mandate was weak. After all, it was elected four years ago and could hardly claim to represent current popular opinion.

There were indications of responsiveness to perceived preferences on the part of the voters, however. This natural, taking into account that a major aim of the party's Knesset list is to attract voters. The list was mainly made more representative today's Israel. This was the desired aim of the proponents of the democratic reforms, and in this they certainly achieved a striking measure of success.

On the other hand, the Central Committee was not charting the party's future course, in any real sense. It is the job of the leadership, and a party leadership was not up for election.

Still, the Central Committee did function just as an enlarged Arrangements Committee, a Committee of the Whole, as it were. For one thing, the size and composition of a forum enhanced the populist element, although populism of a paro-

chial variety. There was little search for potential national leadership for the years to come. The major argument for ratifying the priority placement of Labour's present ministers in the national unity government was that they were already there.

In addition, bargaining in the framework of the Central Committee was different from that in the Arrangements Committee. Bargaining strength, it may be surmised, depended to a great extent on the degree to which the bargainer's commitment was credible; that is, the degree to which he could be

Allan E. Shapiro

trusted to deliver the votes that he purported to represent. This would involve an increment of strength to a disciplined faction within the Central Committee.

The United Kibbutz Movement (Takam) probably benefited from these features of the new electoral system. Traditionally, kibbutzim have been over-represented in the Knesset, if population is the test, although that representation has been declining over the years, from the first Knesset on. Before the last Knesset elections, the Takam leadership lobbied the Arrangements Committee in vain for an increase from four to five safe places on the party's Knesset list. There was considerable apprehension within kibbutz circles that the changed system would lead to an erosion of kibbutz representation, taking into account the tensions within Israeli society and the predicted increase in representation of Sephardic and development-town constituencies.

IN FACT, the kibbutz movement not only held its own but has a fair chance of electing a coveted fifth representative. Two factors seem to have been responsible for this result. Two of its candidates, Deputy

Minister of Agriculture Avraham Katz-Oz and Absorption Minister Ya'acov Tsur, made it into the first ten on the basis of their ministerial standing. This, in the eyes of Central Committee members, appears to have pre-empted their status as kibbutz movement representatives, leaving the field open for the inclusion of other kibbutz candidates. From the point of view of kibbutz movement representation, the renewed endorsement by Takam of Katz-Oz and Tsur, as against demands for "rotation" in the movement's Knesset delegation, was a decided success.

The kibbutz movement power-brokers probably benefited as well from the increased importance of faction discipline. Their commitment to deliver votes in return for services rendered was credible. Whether it was uniformly honoured in the privacy of the polling booth is another matter, about which defeated moshav candidate Ra'anana Na'im may be sceptical. Takam had an electoral alliance with the moshav movement.

Knesset members elected under the new system are likely to feel far less beholden to the national party leadership and to exercise a greater degree of independence than was true of those owing their position to the good graces of the Appointments Committee. Other factors enter into play here, however. Since 1974, there has been increased independence of Labour's Knesset delegation, due to the decline in its power and prestige of party leadership and the lack of party cohesion. The change in the method of selecting the party's Knesset list can be expected to further this trend, other factors remaining constant.

The enhanced independence of Knesset members from the control of an entrenched party bureaucracy can be a positive benefit. The outstanding example in the present Knesset is the work of Abba Eban in the investigation of the Pollard affair, carried out by a subcommittee

of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee, which he chaired. Unlike his Labour party colleagues in the investigating subcommittee, Simha Dinitz and Micha Harish, Eban felt that he had both the capacity and the duty to take a national, rather than a narrow partisan, view. The result was a notable attempt at parliamentary supervision and responsibility.

Another result was Eban's elimination from Labour's Knesset list. The Rabin camp appears to have taken the occasion of this "betrayal" of the party interest to settle accounts that have a history going back to Rabin's term as ambassador in Washington, competing, rather than cooperating, with his superior, then-Foreign Minister Eban.

The independence of a Knesset member may serve a higher national interest, as in the case of Eban's role in the Pollard investigation. On the other hand, independence from the control of the party leadership may mean enhanced responsiveness to the particularist pressures of the interest groups behind the individual Knesset member. Diminished party discipline, combined with increased pressure-group power, could make a future Labour government more responsive to the general public, but less competent to govern.

Labour is a pluralistic party, operating in a political environment that encourages factionalism. But it represents more than just an organized appetite for power. Unlike the Likud, with its populist structure, its very reason for being is a value-oriented image of a unifying public interest.

Party democracy is a commitment that Labour has made to itself and to the public. It has within it elements of a broader commitment to the country as a whole and to its future—to Israel as a society that is both democratic and pluralistic. With vision and leadership, Labour will find the way.

The writer is a political scientist.

Eban and party democratization

ERE AN objective, unbiased and intelligent body to select candidates for the Knesset, there is no doubt that Abba Eban would be an MK as he wished. More than that, he is professional competence to be overriding consideration in appointing cabinet ministers. Eban could not be out of the cabinet when his party was in power. One of the Israeli political activists is better qualified than Eban to use his talent, knowledge and world reputation as high above the rest of them.

But the Labour Party has decided democratically that Israel's best diplomat is to close the parliamentary apter of his unusual biography. The issue is not Eban's alone. He is not the only mode of expression so impressive that Knesset echoes. But the system that produced this result needs careful consideration.

There are grounds for speculation that no selection committee would write Eban off the Knesset list. A selection committee of the old political type would examine candidates according to several criteria, among them the advantage or disadvantage party interests of reappointing or placing a particular person. In this context, competence, especially in comparison with his competitors, could be an important factor, at least from the campaigning point of view.

It seems that everyone is against Eban's smoke-filled rooms where politicians used to meet behind closed doors and discuss their own appointments. So common has it become to criticize the old political system that it forgets that it also had advantages—the advantage of conservatism.

Those selection committees were, in virtue of their organizational nature and personal composition, conservative. The party leaders dominated the committees and had no reason to endanger the internal stability, especially on the eve of the

general elections. Therefore they were usually reluctant to introduce too many and too heavy changes into the Knesset list. After all, they were the leaders and why should they risk their own necks?

More than that, party bosses were not ready even to reconsider the selection system itself. The old system gave them control over the process and over the results. They could not afford to lose that control. This was demonstrated in the case of MK Shulamit Aloni, who was written off because of her disloyalty to Golda Meir's leadership and coalition needs.

Arye Naor

To keep the MKs under control after the elections was one of the first priorities in party politics under the old system. No wonder Mrs. Meir unconditionally rejected a proposal by a Labour group of intellectuals to democratize the selection system. "It's too big a risk," she said.

IT TOOK too long to realize that the old system causes too much damage in terms of votes. It was 10 years after the change in Eban's selection process that the Labour Party decided on democratization. When it finally came, it produced an interesting list, with so many new, attractive names, but without Eban and with only four women.

A comparison of this with a possible selection-committee list should emphasize that democratization is not just a means of achieving political goals, but an end in itself.

Since a full, unlimited democracy exists only in utopian writings, a process of democratizing political institutions is the best modern society can achieve. Even if the process of democratization resulted in an unsatisfactory list, it should be con-

sidered a step forward.

That step was first made in 1977 by the Democratic Movement for Change on one side and by Herut on the other. Now, when the Labour Party and the National Religious Party have joined the club, one can say that most of the Israeli polity is undergoing a process of internal democratization. In this light, the political upheaval of 1977 should be seen as a necessary step towards the lack of sufficient degree of democracy in Labour at that time, and partly as a stimulant to democratizing the party.

From time to time there were changes in the parties' lists, and even key figures were kicked out. The Liberals of the Likud bloc held the national record in firing their best parliamentarians. But they did it when they had already lost most of their constituency and their Knesset seats were given to them by Herut.

Under such circumstances that could afford to give top priority to personal quarrels and internal intrigues. The party itself could not have lost in terms of Knesset votes, since it had already lost its popular vote.

THE CASE of the Labour Party and Abba Eban is very different. The list, as elected by the Central Committee, reflects a genuine attempt to change the guard in compliance with the public mood. It is an authentic response to the heartfelt wishes of many voters.

And, indeed, no selection committee could have introduced so many changes. No selection committee could have nominated so many young, promising new candidates. On the other hand no selection committee would have written off Abba Eban or nominated only four women to the realistic part of the list.

TO MAKE a coherent balance of the new selection system, one should also examine its influence on the administration. Cabinet minis-

ters and MKs of both Likud and Labour are now dependent on their central committee's members. This political dependency has already caused a certain interconnection between the activists and the representatives.

In theory, this new channel could lead to popular participation in policymaking and execution, and thus to a really higher degree of democracy. In practice, the involvement of the political activists relates to job-hunting, not policy-making.

The result is that the civil service, government corporations and state authorities are undergoing a process of politicization bringing the administration back to the Fifties. Political appointments regardless of professional considerations are made every day. It is all done in order to gain support in the central committee. Thus the process of democratization has some negative by-products.

One should not conclude that a restoration of the ancient regime should be sought. Apart from ideological reasons, it is impossible to reverse the situation, and the days of those selection committees are past.

What is now needed is a mechanism that would prevent the negative results—both in the composition of the lists and in the political interconnection between the political activists and the representatives.

This mechanism could not, and should not, be found through reducing the number of people participating in the selection process but rather through widening the framework even more. One day, candidates will be elected by all the party's members—regionally if there is a change in the electoral system, or in the whole of the country if the proportional election system is maintained.

To deepen the process of democratization and to widen the selection body—these are the conclusions from the achievements and the failures of the new system.



The importance of territory in the age of the SS missile

THE RECENT repeated contention by U.S. Secretary George Shultz that "the introduction of surface-to-surface (SS) missiles into Arab arsenals has changed the concept of defence of Israel's future borders" needs to be questioned. It is the central argument here that this contention is faulty, both on purely military-strategic grounds in general, and with specific reference to the strategic circumstances of Israel. Nor is this argument changed by the recently reported M-9 missile deal between Syria and China and its possible impact on the military balance.

From a purely theoretical analysis, the argument should have been precisely the opposite: in the face of sharper threats stemming from qualitative weapon systems, the importance of territory and strategic depth should drastically increase—if only to compensate for and make the military dangers more remote. Without underrating the severity of the missile threat, it is simply another weapon system for delivering firepower from a distance; the same can be said for advanced aircraft. Now, would it be plausible to suggest a dramatic change in the concept of defence and borders whenever a more advanced aircraft is introduced?

Missiles, like aircraft, are just parts of one important component of military power. The other two, even more vital, components in the structure of overall military strength are the human and territorial factors.

WHILE FOR almost every weapon system suitable countermeasures can be developed rather easily, the human and territorial components of military power are more determinant and less flexible in nature; they can far less readily be traded off militarily. Even in the context of a nuclear threat, where firepower dominance is overwhelming, the U.S. Administration has embarked on the challenging SDI programme, with Secretary Shultz as a zealous advocate. That programme is intended, for the first time, to confront even the greatest firepower threat through defensive measures.

Ballistic missiles and "smart weapons" do add an important dimension to the firepower factor, but conventional wars—surely in the Middle East—are not decided by weapons or firepower. Wars are won and decided first and foremost by physical conquest of vital territories through the movement of forces and maneuvering capabilities. While firepower and bombings by missiles and aircraft cause destruction, disruption and casualties, they cannot lead to the conquest of territory by which wars are won. The best and most recent proof is the protracted war in the Gulf where firepower, including unconventional weapons, has not determined its outcome. For the sake of maneuverability and to win a war, adequate territory and strategic depth are crucial; they also operate defensively, denying maneuverability to the enemy.

IN SHULTZ'S CLAIM, it is implied that modern weaponry facilitates the defenders' task; however, this has not yet been determined in practice, much less under conditions of diminished territorial depth. Weaponry and "smart" munitions seem to favour the attacker in terms of firepower and maneuverability, and significantly enhance his initial advantages—initiative, surprise, planning, etc. In contrast, to ensure improved ability to confront a surprise offensive and augmented firepower, the defender would equally need not only "smart" weapons, but also more of the other components of strength, particularly territory. The farther away a missile is launched, the less precise it becomes.

Overall, modern weaponry makes warfare more difficult and raises its price, but the link between this and changing the concepts of defence and defensible borders is feeble, even theoretically. On the contrary, the tougher war becomes, the greater the need for more of the basic components of strength. Adequate territory augments defensive means,

and allows for intelligence installation, equipment, logistic infrastructure and other military means that enhance the defenders' "absorption capability" in case deterrence fails.

ISRAEL'S SPECIFIC context weakens Shultz's contention even further. Territory and strategic depth are vital to reduce significantly any Arab temptation to inflict a death blow on a dwindled Israel. The proximity of Israel's vital areas (in the Haifa-Tel Aviv-Jerusalem triangle) to its eastern and northeastern borders, can constitute a permanent temptation for the Arabs to try and cut the country across its narrow waistline or conquer its vital centres by a swift attack. Conversely, strategic depth sharply reduces the menace to Israel's "soft belly," and the Arab military option, and enhances its deterrence potential. Possible initial gains by Arab armies would become significantly more difficult because of the greater geo-

Aharon Levan (Tat-aluf res.)

graphical distances they would have to traverse.

Equally, the strategic depth provided by Judea and Samaria would deny them a springboard for a decisive offensive against the heart of Israel. Thus Israel's strategic depth would also enhance regional stability by relieving it of the necessity to resort to pre-emptive strikes. At the same time, it is true that Israel's holding these areas constitutes a constant stimulus for certain Arabs to wage a war against Israel, but the risk of war is a strategic issue that demands a separate and detailed discussion.

The issue of Arab temptation cannot be underrated, for even subsequent to future peace accords Israel would continue to be considered a "foreign implant" in the region. It can by no means be ruled out that they would go on fostering their old "strategy of stages" which prescribes Israel's gradual elimination or, as the Arabs moderate maintain, its reduction to "natural size." I am using Arab terminology which is valid theoretically on the basic assumption that the "many" would ultimately overcome the "few." From this stem both the dangers of Arab temptation and Israel's crucial need for wide security margins including territorial depth.

EVEN FROM SHEER defensive aspects, the vital nature of strategic depth can hardly be disputed. Due to the quantitative asymmetry between the Arabs and Israel, the latter, from its inception, has been overshadowed by two essential security problems which are particularly sharp on its eastern borders. These are the negative ratio of forces and the lack of territorial depth. Israel is critically dependent on mobilization of reserves. The lack of defensive depth and the vulnerability of its vital areas greatly intensify the issue of the timely mobilization of reserves. The territorial factor is thus intertwined with the inappropriate ratio of forces issue and the "time criticality" factor in Israel's security.

Regarding the ratio of forces, the danger for Israel was and always will be both the large number of Arab armies and their predominant reliance on active or regular forces. Yet in the last decade the majority of these ground forces have in addition undergone conversion to armoured and mechanized formations. Whereas in the Yom Kippur War (1973) the Syrian and Jordanian ground forces consisted of only five armoured and mechanized divisions, today their entire complement of 13-14 divisions is armoured or mechanized. In the Iraqi army, the current number of armoured and mechanized divisions (10) is more than triple the 1973 figures. Even the Egyptian armoured and mechanized divisions have doubled to 10 today.

This large number of Arab armoured and mechanized formations has dramatically increased their mobility potential, including the indication of surprise attack, and made the

issue of strategic depth for Israel even more critical. Thus, territorial depth is needed not only for adequate time to mobilize the reserves, but also for the installation of forward, and extremely elaborate, early warning stations. Aerial electronic devices can only supplement the land intelligence network and cannot constitute a reliable substitute. In this context, it should be recalled that territorial depth is essential no less to compensate for unavoidable intelligence forecasting errors.

STRATEGIC DEPTH is also highly crucial for defensive operational purposes. Due to its tiny geographical dimensions, Israel cannot risk waging a war in its vital civilian centres which are concentrated in its coastal area. Here, every tactical failure in battle (and this is possible) can easily turn into a strategic disaster. Additionally, Israel is well known for its supersensitivity to human and material losses. The Yom Kippur War is a relevant case in hand. It can be surmised what could have been Israel's fate had the war not opened on the remote banks of the Suez Canal or up on the Golan Heights. A strategic buffer thus also helps to neutralize surprise attacks and allows Israel's forces to deploy more safely against an invader.

In my view, Israel's qualitative edge in the military balance with Arab armies has eroded in the last decade, because of the Arabs' quantitative and particularly qualitative enhancement, due to their ability to acquire sophisticated arms from the West, including the U.S. In contrast to the past, the IDF no longer enjoys regional exclusivity in this field. In addition, Israel's economic shortcomings make it harder for it to allocate adequate financial resources to keep up with the qualitative race in weaponry and maintain its edge. Simultaneously, the other component of the IDF's strength, the human factor, has also been adversely affected mainly because of deep domestic political rifts and disputes over consensus, which in turn weaken motivation. Now, if the other pillar of strength—territory—is also badly affected, Israel will be critically weakened to the sorrow of those who want it to be strong (and I believe that this is in the U.S.'s interest, too).

A collateral aspect is connected with the claim that security arrangements and particularly demilitarization can compensate for less territory. But the example of Sinai is not relevant here; demilitarization in the unpopulated desert peninsula cannot be transposed to areas densely populated by people who "would become the laughing-stock of the Arab world without national armed forces" as the renowned W. Khalebi puts it (*Foreign Affairs*, July 1978).

In Sinai, too, Israel's security margins remained wide in case the arrangements were violated. This cannot be the case in a West Bank governed either by Jordan or the Palestinians. In addition, Israeli (and worldwide) unfortunate precedents of demilitarization and security arrangements demonstrate how unreliable they are, causing more problems than they solved. Therefore, it is imperative that Israel be able to ensure demilitarization on its own—by physical presence and control of the vital areas. Beyond such a substantial presence west of the Jordan (to block a surprise attack on the move) and on the mountainous ridge (to deny terrorist activities), demilitarization can constitute a supplementary measure for Israel's security needs, but not a valid substitute. The relevant example is Israel's presence and "security belt" in Southern Lebanon to which the U.S. has rightly become accustomed.

The foregoing analysis is related to purely military-strategic arguments in accordance with the wording and spirit of the Shultz statement. Although security considerations in our context are essential, this does not imply that other strategic aspects and particularly ideological, political, demographic, aspects are not to be considered.

The writer, a brigadier-general in reserve, is editor of the *Middle East Military Balance of the Jaffee Centre for Strategic Studies*.

LEADERS' LETTERS

AN APPEAL FROM BRITAIN FOR AN END TO THE OCCUPATION

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, - We are deeply concerned about the continuing unrest in the east Bank and Gaza Strip. Tens of thousands have been killed and maimed by Israeli security forces in the worst outbreak of violence in the occupied territories since 1967.

The Palestinian uprising is a direct result of 20 years' occupation. This occupation has entailed denial of the Palestinian right to self-determination and has led to mass arrests, deportations, land expropriation and other restrictions on basic human rights.

We believe that continuation of occupation will lead to more violence. We support a settlement based on mutual recognition between Israel and the Palestinians, both sides' legitimate right to security and national self-determination.

We call for an end to the occupation and the convening of an international peace conference attended by all parties concerned including the PLO, issuing in secure guarantees to be subscribed to by the United States of America and

the Soviet Union and all other parties attending the conference.

Professor Sir A.J. AYER FBA
GRAHAM GREENE OM

Professor H.L.A. HART QC
JOHN LE CARRE
JOHN MORTIMER QC

Professor Sir PETER STRAWSON FBA

London.

This letter was sent to us by Mr. A.S. Khalidi, a Palestinian by birth resident in London, who solicited the signatories for their support of the appeal which he says is the fruit of his own initiative. In his letter to the signatories, Mr. Khalidi writes that there is not much one can do when confronted with as dangerous and delicate a situation as current on the West Bank and Gaza except hope that a rational appeal from civilized peoples will have some impact on both sides, and in particular the Israelis who he believes are responsive to calls of conscience and hold the initiative with regard to any serious moves towards peace. - Ed. J.P.

NEED FOR CORRECT INFORMATION

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, - Charles Hoffman's article of June 8, "Oluf should be heard," fails to deal with one important point.

One is an immigrant not from the moment of landing at Ben-Gurion Airport, but from the day that the emissary is told of the decision to come on aliyah. Successful absorption in Israel must be helped by the best possible planning before departure.

Yet one is harassed by a dearth of good information and a wealth of misinformation. In this respect, emissaries seem poorly trained and motivated and inadequately supported

from here. The attitude seems to be: "You'll find out when you get there."

This particularly applies to the importation of business equipment, and I believe there is a fundamental need for some sort of trans-oceanic communications channel through which, before he makes his journey, an immigrant can get positive decisions which—subject to whatever provisos may be reasonable—will be binding on all in authority here who might otherwise be required to make decisions after arrival.

PHILIP FREEMAN Carmiel.

FLYING THE FLAG

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, - I refer to David Rudge's article of June 9 and to the accusation by MK and Deputy Knesset Speaker Meir Cohen-Avidov that he found no flags flying on the municipalities of Nazareth and Shfaram, whereas he found the flag flying at all times from all municipal buildings of all Jewish towns that he visited.

I don't know which Jewish towns Mr. Cohen-Avidov visited, but for the past 18 years, I have lived right

next door to the Tel Aviv Municipality and for the past seven years I pass twice weekly the Bnei Brak Municipality. Never in all these years have I seen the national flag on either of these two municipalities except on special occasions.

A man of Mr. Cohen-Avidov's standing should check out his facts before making such wild accusations, unless he is just trying to make trouble.

T. WOLFF Tel Aviv.

THE KNESSET election campaign, leading up to the fateful polling day, Tuesday November 1, will constitute a battle of wits between the parties for the hearts and minds of the voters.

But a second battle of wits, between the great majority of the parties, on one hand, and a tiny minority of at least two of them, on the other, will determine whether the minority will even be permitted to contest the election.

The outcome will be decided on two battlefields: firstly the Central Knesset Elections Committee; and secondly the High Court of Justice, where appeals against decisions of the committee may be lodged.

The two existing targets for disqualification are Kach, Meir Kahane's party, and the Progressive Peace List. Additional, new lists may be submitted, which would conceivably come under negative scrutiny by the great majority of the existing parties, on similar grounds.

The mainstream political consensus will try and blackball these two fringe parties, by proving that leopards of that particular breed cannot change their spots.

An abortive bid by the Elections Committee just before the 1984 elections to disqualify these two, founded in the High Court when a bench of five justices pointed out that there was nothing in the Basic Law: Knesset to justify their exclusion. Hence they were free to contest the 1984 elections.

Kach got one man in. The PPL got two men in. But - once bitten by the leopard, twice shy - the Knesset decided.

A year later, the Knesset amended the law, and inserted ideological as well as technical criteria whereby a list could be disqualified.

ONE OF THE amendments relates to dual citizenship held by candidates for election. The second refers to the character of the election list, as such. Kach could be affected by both amendments, and the PPL by the second, much broader, programmatic amendment only.

A candidate for the Knesset must have Israeli citizenship; but if he also holds a second citizenship, and the other country's laws permit him to relinquish it, he must do so. He has to prove "to the satisfaction of the chairman of the Central Knesset Elections Committee that he did all

that was necessary on his part to relinquish that citizenship."

The amendment concedes that a second citizenship would only be an issue in the approval or disqualification of a candidate for a Knesset list if he "at any time" held a passport from the second country or a citizenship document of some kind.

Because of this amendment, Kach's Kahane can no longer have his cake and eat it, too. If he wants to stand for the next Knesset, he will have to renounce his American citizenship. Till now, Kahane wanted to keep his U.S. citizenship for several reasons, at least one of which was the freedom it gave him to travel there without hindrance and collect the funds he needs for his operations from his wealthy American supporters.

If he has to travel on his Israeli passport, with a U.S. visitor's visa, he could always encounter trouble, in theory, from the immigration authorities. He could always be expelled for some offence, or refused another visa subsequently for some impropriety.

THE CHANCES are that Kahane will indeed take steps to give up his U.S. citizenship, according to the general prediction in the Knesset. But if he commences the renunciation procedure now, and does not manage to complete it by mid-October, he will have a poor excuse. The committee chairman will most probably tell him that he had more than ample time, since the amendment concerning dual citizenship became law, and hence his plea of "couldn't manage to meet the deadline" is submitted in bad faith.

A would-be candidate must append copies of his application for renunciation of another citizenship and of the replies. So his word can easily be checked, and most likely will be. He can always appeal to the High Court; appeals are also possible against disqualification or approval of election lists. This option was inserted as a counter against political steamrolling in what is essentially a political body, since it is made up of existing Knesset factions, with vested interests and political axes to grind in campaigns and post-election deals.

The attorney-general is entitled to submit an appeal against the committee's approval of a list; so can the chairman of the committee, on his

Can Kahane be stopped?



(Rahamim Israeli)

own account; and so can at least one-third of the committee's members. Thus, if any of them holds that the committee's approval of one or more lists was improper, he can challenge it before a judicial rather than a political body.

FOR KACH and the PPL, the second programmatic obstacle is high and wide, because it involves what they seek and sought; what they say and said; what they do and did.

Clause 7 (a) of the Basic Law: Knesset says: "A list of candidates shall not take part in the Knesset elections if it entails one of the following, in its aims or its actions, explicitly or implicitly:

Negation of the existence of the State of Israel as the state of the Jewish people; Negation of the democratic character of the state; Incitement to racism.

The inspiration behind this amendment came in great part from then justice minister Moshe Nissim and his attorney-general, Prof. Yitzhak Zamir. Both realized the High Court would not disqualify the party under existing laws, so prepared legislation to exclude lists with such platforms. It was as

though they and many others had woken up on the morning after the 1984 Knesset elections, to find that the Kach nightmare had become a reality which the Knesset (and hence the nation) would have to live with, at least till the next election.

Asher Wallfish

The two of them reportedly assumed, that in a future case, a future High Court bench would act otherwise, if the law were more sharply defined and the Elections Committee were seen to be following a legal rather than a political course.

FOUR MONTHS AFTER Nissim's request, Zamir wrote in *The Post* that Kahanism, which had become a synonym for racism, presented a greater danger to the Jews of Israel than to its Arabs. He added that the similarities between Kahanism and Nazism should be borne in mind, and quoted from the private member's bills which the freshman MK was seeking to put through the Knesset:

"Any non-Jew unwilling to accept the status of *ger tashav* (foreign resident, i.e. second-class status) and the obligations of taxes and serfdom, and who is unprepared to leave the country voluntarily, will be forcibly deported"; such residents "will not live within the area of the city of Jerusalem"; "separate beaches will be established for Jews and non-Jews"; "no non-Jew will be permitted to live in a Jewish apartment building without the permission of the majority of its Jewish residents or, in the case of a private house or building with less than five tenants, without the permission of most of the Jews living in the area"; "a non-Jew who has sexual relations with a Jewish prostitute or with a Jewish male should be sentenced to 50 years in prison; a Jewish prostitute or Jewish male who has sexual relations with a non-Jewish male should be sentenced to five years' imprisonment."

"TO NO ONE will we deny or delay right or justice," trumpeted Magna Carta. Over 750 years later, Lord Denning, that great British jurist and former Master of the Rolls, fuming at the "intolerable" delays of the law, "which turn justice sour," was even more categorical: "The delay of justice is the denial of justice."

Denning's accusing finger pointed at the prevarications of lawyers and barristers. But his words may well stand as the motto for the current, controversial, overdue, and, some say less than adequate, overhaul of the creaking machinery of Israel's overburdened court system.

Last Sunday's cabinet meeting approved a government bill that is, on the face of it, a compromise between the recommendations of the Justice Ministry and the reservations of Supreme Court President Meir Shamgar. But, in effect, says some legal circles, it is a triumph for the conservative trade unionism of the bench, and particularly of its District Court judges.

Justice Minister Avraham Shari, waving the banner of "Reform Now," or at worst in 1990, seems according to several jurists - to have staked his personal prestige on pushing the bill through in a desperate bid to leave his mark on the system.

But Shari was dealt a harsh blow when he was denied a definite date for the proposed amalgamation of the Magistrates and District Courts into the Court of First Instance.

The ministry's initial suggestion to establish an intermediate Appellate Court of Right between the District and Supreme Courts has also been watered down, at least for the time being. And, at Shamgar's "make haste slowly" behest, the bill is to set up a number of appellate divisions of the District Court.

Finally, in what amounts to a vote of no confidence in a man who is not seen as one of the country's most distinguished justice ministers, each stage of the bill's implementation must first be approved by the finance minister and the Supreme Court president.

NO ONE DENIES the need for reform of a system in which each year the country's 270 judges handle hundreds of thousands of cases, causing endless delays in justice for the average citizen. And the corollary to that is even more disturbing, for where justice is delayed, it is also in danger of being flouted, as witness the growth in private, and often violent, debt-collection agencies.

Applications to the courts, in a country of litigants, grow by an annual six per cent. Shamgar himself recently admitted that the Supreme Court is today dealing with cases that have been before it since 1985, and which began in the lower courts much earlier. This all too often makes it practically meaningless for the courts to assess damages and determine fines, for the judges are frequently dealing with sums of money, in old shekels, even in lire, whose real value no one remembers.

For the last four years, according to Shamgar, the Supreme Court alone has handled an annual 3,000 files, compared with only 150 dealt with by the U.S. Supreme Court, which confines itself to matters of the most weighty public interest. Access to the Supreme Court is so easy, Shamgar has said, that every market stall-holder denied some permit in the lower courts now turns to the highest court in the land.

Law professor Stephen Goldstein, who is dean of the Hebrew University's law faculty, sees the time-frame for the suggested reform as the most important of the differences between what Shamgar and Shari propose, with Shamgar concerned about personnel problems.

The intermediate Appellate Court, Goldstein points out, will not need a large number of judges. Thus, most of the present District Court bench would, under the Justice Ministry proposal, be forced into an unwelcome association with the judges of the Magistrates Courts. This, in the opinion of the District Court judges, would be a blow to their status.

In Goldstein's view that is quite unjustified. He insists that there is no logical reason why the two lower courts should not be unified. Nor is there any difference in the level of expertise needed by the judges, he argues.

His criticism of the court system is long-standing. In 1982 he published an article examining the 1980 report of a select committee on the judiciary headed by Justice Moshe Landau, then deputy-president of the Supreme Court.

The Landau Committee, Goldstein wrote, had failed to grapple with the real problems. These begin

hane; but there will be those inside the Likud who will wonder whether their party's rivals, Tebiya and Tzomet, will be laughing when they, rather than the Likud, garner the votes if Kach cannot run. And there will be others inside the Likud who will wonder whether Kahane's message differs from their own message, 100 per cent. Thus, after the election results are known, there could be recriminations inside the Likud. Somebody's head may roll.

KACH WILL HAVE a hard time arguing in the committee and in a subsequent appeal to the High Court that its aims and actions have changed, even if it alters its platform in a bid to avert the ban. Its aims and actions and speeches have been on record for years for the committee and the justice to peruse. The Israel Police have been keeping an eye on Kach for a while. Informers are even said to have been planted inside it. That would be ironic enough for a party leader who was allegedly himself an informer before settling in Israel. And in one recent court case, a Kach member even claimed that the General Security Services had been "running" him. The claim would make good sense, though not necessarily the context in which it was advanced.

Kahane will have an even harder time making the grade because the law refers to *explicit* as well as *implicit* racism alike. Whatever he claims, the decision lies in the hands of others whose professional authority on the bench entitles them to assess what is in men's minds and hearts as well as in their mouths and pens. They will have the option of ruling that Kahane is merely dissembling, if they so find, whatever he says on the stand or in his depositions.

Why should anybody believe that Kahane has turned over a new leaf, since the days when he tried to break into the president's mansion during the consultations over the formation of the national unity; or marched to Umm el-Fahm, the Arab town near the Iron Valley; and when he praised the IDF reserve soldier who fired a rocket at an Arab bus in Jerusalem?

His tracks will be hard to cover.

THE CENTRAL Elections Committee will not nail Kahane, according to the law, for his personal racist beliefs. The law talks about incitement to racism, which means dissemination and contact, public or private, for the purpose of persuasion.

Kahane will tell the committee and the High Court as well, that he does not seek to distinguish between a "Jewish race" and an "Arab race" since they both belong to the "Semitic race." He will contend that his religious obligation is to defend the Jewish faith against other faiths, and that this obligation underlies all his words and deeds.

But he will be reminded that today's precedents classify the kind of campaign he wages against other faiths, in the name of Judaism, as racist incitement, even if he can produce an Arab in his list as decoration, or a convert to Judaism who once belonged to a non-Semitic race.

But he will be reminded that today's precedents classify the kind of campaign he wages against other faiths, in the name of Judaism, as racist incitement, even if he can produce an Arab in his list as decoration, or a convert to Judaism who once belonged to a non-Semitic race.

Kahane will also be nailed this year on the sub-clause which refers to "negation of the state's democratic character." After all, he is on record as asserting the anti-democratic principle that Arabs in Israel deserve fewer rights than Jews.

As he already has done in Knesset debates, Kahane will tell the committee and the High Court, that his political beliefs are rooted in the biblical and post-biblical teaching. He will argue that it is incumbent on an Orthodox Jew to hold that gentiles are inferior to Jews, on the best authority. Kahane will most likely argue that his political message is identical with what Orthodox Jews learned in *talmud torah* and *yeshiva*, and that his platform echoes phrases and concepts from the prayer-book.

BUT THE COMMITTEE and the High Court will most likely reply that the laws and customs of the State of Israel are not identical with the laws and customs of the Orthodox Jewish faith as they developed over many centuries, and that Maimonides' teachings are not necessarily applicable to a different society from the one in which he taught in medieval times.

Kahane will be told that just as the "eye for an eye, tooth for a tooth" principle is alien to the Israeli statute-book, and just as crimes and punishments in Israeli law differ from those spelled out in biblical and post-biblical law, so are his political theses not only alien to Israeli society, but actually violate Israeli law.

Since 1986, when the second item of legislation was passed concerning incitement to racism, Kahane has admittedly kept a much lower profile. He is nervous about his parliamentary future. But with the public opinion polls predicting that he can double or triple his present strength in the next Knesset he can hardly fail to pick up the gauntlet, avidly ambitious as he is; he has little choice.

In any case, if he were out of the Knesset for good and bereft of parliamentary immunity, he would be little more than jail-bait unless he chose to keep silent for evermore. In short: it's put up, or shut up.

Kahane's deadline for the coming Knesset elections is October 12. On that day, the Central Knesset Elections Committee will approve or disqualify the election lists submitted to it. If the Kach list is disqualified, Kahane has only two days, till October 14, to appeal to the High Court. That day falls on a Friday.

The High Court must rule on all such appeals not later than October 18. That falls on the following Tuesday - which leaves our august justices three working days, at most, to decide Kahane's parliamentary future. Not very long. However, as in 1984, when the High Court voted "thumbs up" for Kahane, it can hand down the ruling in good time - "thumbs up or thumbs down," but leave the reasoned judgment till 1989 or whenever else it likes.

The fault is not that of the justices, if they have to decide under pressure. At the end of the day, after all, it is the politicians who make the rules. All the court does is find out whether the rules are kept or broken.

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Spokes in the wheels of justice

Dvora Getzler

Below the Supreme Court, he maintains, although he agrees that that court is indeed also overburdened.

Basically, in civil cases other than those involving land, it is the amount in controversy which determines whether a case is referred to the Magistrates or District Courts. The sums deemed referable to the lower courts rise constantly, the professor says. They are currently up to NIS150,000, "which is a lot of money!"

In land cases, it is the Magistrates Courts which handle possession, use and partition, and the District Courts which deal with almost everything else, and particularly title.

"I am conservative enough to want to leave things alone, if they work well," says Goldstein.

"But deciding where cases should be tried causes many problems and there is a great deal of unnecessary litigation surrounding the issue. It is by no means clear that the more complicated cases are referred to the District Court, as some people may think," Goldstein continued.

"What's more, I think it's fair to say that overall there is no significant difference between the selection principles adopted in appointing judges to the two courts, nor is there a difference in the quality of those appointed."

And if that were not reason enough to amalgamate the two lower courts, he also points to the lack of flexibility resulting from the separation of the two. Judges, he says, cannot easily be moved around to where they are most needed.

GOLDSTEIN is concerned that in failing to set a timetable for the implementation of the reform, the Justice Ministry proposal may languish and fade away.

For the public, Goldstein believes, the main advantage of the reform will eventually be an increase in the efficiency with which justice is meted out. Reducing the all-too-frequent juridical overlapping should also save time and money, he says. The main beneficiary of reducing the burden on the Supreme Court will be society at large.

In a country that still lacks a con-

stitution, the professor points out, the Supreme Court, sitting as the High Court of Justice, has evolved into a finely honed instrument for the defence of the citizen against the authorities. That function, he believes, should be jealously guarded as a means of ensuring the rule of law.

But at present, the citizen has a right to appeal to the Supreme Court to review any decision on a case originating in the District Court.

"Permitting the Supreme Court to concentrate on appeals which have important repercussions beyond the matter of justice between the two parties is essential," Goldstein insists.

"And this is what the reform should eventually achieve in creating an intermediate Appellate Court, though leave, rather than right, to appeal to the Supreme Court must still remain."

"A rational system suggests that, when the issue is one of justice between two parties, without any further implication, they are entitled to one, and only one, appeal."

"Beyond that, a further appeal is appropriate only if the particular instance is itself of great public importance, or there is a need to establish a legal principle. In those two cases, the appeal should be by leave, and I think the leave should be given by a higher court. I would perhaps add to those, a review of the most serious criminal cases, certainly any death penalty case."

Parallels with this three-tiered system exist almost everywhere, particularly in the UK and US, and, in essence, in Europe, Goldstein says.

What alternatives exist? Energy Minister Moshe Shaleh, who is also a lawyer, has been critical of the reform bill and in recent articles in the Hebrew press he has argued that what is needed are alternatives to the need for application to the courts.

Shaleh's suggestion seems to point to some form of arbitration, one veteran judge told *The Jerusalem Post*. But, the judge says, arbitration is an even more costly form of justice than is the court system. In fact, money is one of the keys to the solution. The entire judicial system has for too long been starved of funds.

Pinhas Rosen, the state's first minister of justice, urged that the courts be run on a deficit, so that justice be easily available to even the poorest. But Rosen lived in an Israel that was more in tune with Denning's commitment to the just society.

To the Hon. Ronald Reagan, President of the United States

The Pollards – Victims of a Barbaric Anti-Semitic Plot

On March 4, 1987, Jonathan Jay Pollard was sentenced to life imprisonment after pleading guilty to a single count of providing classified information to Israel. His wife, Anne, was sentenced to five years as an accessory after the fact – meaning that she had no involvement in her husband's affairs with Israel.

Jonathan was not charged with treason or with damaging U.S. security, because there was no evidence to show that he had. The Government never charged Anne with espionage, or even with aiding or abetting her husband's passing of documents to Israel. All Navy employees with Jonathan's clearance have the routine responsibility to maintain classified documents in their possession.

Clearly the sentences are outrageous, especially since each of the Pollards had been individually persuaded to plead guilty to obtain leniency for the other. Instead, the Government delivered retribution. Why? Have we lost our humanity?

Why has Anne not been able to receive proper medical treatment while in prison? She suffers from a rare digestive disorder and only recently – after 18 months of suffering – was she moved to another prison, reportedly to secure medical treatment.



1985

Anne Pollard

Today

Anne's weight has dropped by some 50 pounds since her imprisonment. She is in constant pain, to the point that she cannot stand or sit erect. She has internal bleeding and severe anemia. Recent tests show that her neglect in prison has caused deterioration of other organs, such as her eyes, and her thyroid.

Why hasn't Anne Pollard's doctor been allowed to treat her? Her physical condition was under control until she entered prison. Even the prison doctor, Dr. Jay B. Krasner, said: "Her only hope of symptomatic relief (outside of narcotics), remission or cure lies in therapies which are not widely available, and with which only a handful of physicians in this country may be familiar."

A recent agreement between the United States and the USSR now permits American doctors to visit people in Soviet prisons to determine the state of their health care. Yet those same physicians would be barred from seeing Anne Pollard.

Why are the Pollards forbidden to speak to the press? Any reporters wishing to interview murderers or rapists have ready access to them. But the Pollards are held apart from the media. Only after 18 months has this illegal action been responded to by some publications, such as The New York Times. The newspaper's legal staff has written to

the Bureau of Prisons: "The rules you have set down grossly violate the First Amendment rights of both Mrs. Pollard and the parties who wish to speak with her."

Why is Anne subject to special rules that do not apply to other prisoners? She is forbidden to see anyone – even members of Congress – outside her immediate family. She is forbidden to contact people by phone. She is often shackled hand and foot, even when lying in bed in the hospital. Her mail is censored and often destroyed. She has been forbidden to see attorneys of her choice for prolonged periods of time, and her attorney's conversations with her have been monitored. Is this American justice?

An Attempt to Seek Justice

An organization was created last fall to seek justice for Jonathan and Anne Pollard. The organization, "Justice for the Pollards" (JFP), does not take the position that Jonathan should go unpunished for breaking the rules – rather, that the imposed punishment is excessive beyond all reason. His sentence has no precedent, since espionage between allies is almost always hushed up and rarely prosecuted. JFP does take the position that Anne has suffered more than enough. Her continued imprisonment – and resulting deprivation of proper medical care – constitutes cruel and unusual punishment.

If we keep the Pollards in this inhuman condition, by what right do we demand Soviet compliance with human rights?

What moral right have we to try to unseat General Noriega of Panama?

What right do we have to criticize Pinochet in Chile, or Ortega in Nicaragua?

Anne Pollard should be released at once. Her continued imprisonment is a stain on the American judicial system.

Jonathan Pollard's case should be reviewed and put into proper perspective.

America, the leading democracy in the free world, the land of Jefferson, Madison and Lincoln, the showcase for justice and human rights, the example to the world, must not be degraded by an ugly anti-Semitic contrivance.

I am speaking in this case not only in the name of the overwhelming majority of Jews, but of all decent men and women in the free world.

We urge you very respectfully, Mr. President, to order your Attorney General to end immediately the suffering of the dying woman Anne Pollard, and to reduce the sentence of Jonathan to its proper proportion. To correct an outrage is not only an obligation; it will give honor and prestige to the government and to the people of America.

Should this not happen, we will have no other choice but to bring to Washington thousands of people and stage a vigil there for as long as necessary. But let us hope that this will not be necessary.

Justice must prevail if we wish to preserve freedom in America and human rights the world over.

Very respectfully,

JACK MONDLAK
870 Fifth Ave., New
York, NY 10021

Pam beats mononucleosis

WIMBLEDON, England (AP) — Injured, almost eliminated and now sick: Pam Shriver's Wimbledon is turning into a tale of trouble for the normally bubbly American.

But she's still in the tournament and, strangely enough, her game appears to be improving.

"It was great to have a routine match," Shriver said yesterday after beating Svetlana Parkhomenko 6-3, 6-4 in the second round. "It's nice to be off the court... and ready to head home."

That wasn't the case in Shriver's first-round match on Tuesday when she had to rally from 1-4, 30-40 in the final set to oust Dinky van Rensburg of South Africa.

The American had gone into that match after recovering from a groin injury that forced her to withdraw from a warmup tournament in Eastbourne last week.

Just before facing Parkhomenko, it was announced that Shriver, ranked third in the world but still without a Grand Slam tournament title, was suffering from mononucleosis, or glandular fever.

A brief statement from the Women's International Tennis Association said Shriver had a blood test last week and the results were positive.

A further examination by the Wimbledon tournament physician resulted in the player being given the go ahead to compete.

Shriver said she did not wish to give any additional details.

"I've been checked out and given the okay, so here I am," she said. "I feel pretty good."

Old-timers Martina Navratilova and Jimmy Connors posted straight-set victories, while newcomer Jim Grabb recorded yesterday the biggest upset so far.

Another veteran, fourth-seeded Chris Evert, struggled a bit against West Germany's Christina Singer, but eventually won 6-4, 3-6, 6-3.



STILL IN THERE — Pam Shriver defies illness and injuries to go on winning matches at Wimbledon (APF)

Navratilova, seeking a record ninth Wimbledon singles title and seventh in a row, breezed by American Ely Hakami 6-2, 6-1. Connors, a two-time Wimbledon champ, beat 18-year-old Jason Stoltenberg of Australia 7-6, 6-3, 6-3.

Jim Grabb of the United States eliminated 11th-seeded Anders Jarryd of Sweden 3-6, 7-6, 6-3, 6-0. Grabb, a collegiate champion at Stanford playing Wimbledon for only the second time, beat Jarryd, a

quarterfinalist from a year ago and a semifinalist from 1986. Jarryd, ranked 14th in the world, was a first-round loser at the French Open last month. Jarryd was the third man's seed eliminated from the tournament. "I've had some other wins over big names, but the venue of this one is a little more attractive," said Grabb, ranked 63rd in the world. Grabb, from Tucson, Arizona, said he was helped by two "very lucky" shots in the tiebreaker.

Wimbledon '88

Exit Mac

WIMBLEDON, England (AP) — John McEnroe's Wimbledon comeback ended late yesterday in a flurry of missed chances and disputes over two crucial line calls.

McEnroe, playing at the grass court Grand Slam for the first time since 1985, blew set points in both the first and second sets and lost his second-round match to Wally Masur of Australia, ranked 64th in the world, 7-5, 7-6, 6-3.

After missing a set point at 6-5 in the set, McEnroe was up 2-1 in the tiebreak when he raced after a Masur backhand down the line and returned it with a crisp backhand volley.

The ball started out suspended over the doubles alley, then curved back toward the court. Television replays showed it landed right on the line, but the judge called it out.

McEnroe was shocked and asked umpire Rudi Berger to change the call.

"The ball was on the line. It was half in, half out," McEnroe protested. Berger shook his head.

McEnroe walked back to the court and promptly lost the next three points to go down 2-4.

In the third set and near the end of his rope, McEnroe was given a code violation for racket abuse after blowing two break points and watching a Masur volley he thought was long called in. Again, he argued, and Berger again refused to overrule.

"Not one bit of chalk flew up," McEnroe screamed. When Masur held for a 5-2 lead, the crowd booed.

Soviets expect tough match

STUTTGART (Reuter) — Soviet striker Oleg Protasov, in common with most members of the Soviet team, respects the Dutch, whom they face tomorrow in the final of the European championship, for their strength, technique and tactical flexibility. "We know that Italy were not so strong as Holland are," he said at a press conference in the Russians' secluded base in a school on the outskirts of Stuttgart.

With regard to tomorrow's final, Protasov said he was preoccupied by thoughts of how to play against the Dutch central defender Frank Rijkaard. "He gave me a lot of problems when we played in the qualifying round," he said. "I am thinking hard about how to get the better of him this time." (Russia won that match 1-0.)

Soviet coach Valery Lobanovsky disclosed that star striker and former European Player of the Year Igor Belanov was back in training after a thigh strain. He refused, however, to confirm that Belanov, who missed the semi-final, would



return to the team for the final.

Lobanovsky praised the level of play at the tournament. He said the soccer had been better than that seen in Mexico in 1986 at the World Cup finals. "The matches have been more intense, faster and tactically more interesting, more flexible. I have seen more fantastic players here than in Mexico. There was only one there — Diego Maradona — but here there are many in all the teams."

The Russians will be aiming to carry off the crown for the first time since the inaugural European Nations' Cup of 1960.

Unfortunately for them, they must attempt the task of quelling Marco van Basten, Ruud Gullit and the rest without central defender Oleg Kuznetsov, one of six players

booked in the semi-final and automatically out for the next match because he received an earlier caution in the qualifying round.

The Russian boss said he was very unhappy at losing his imposing stopper. "I am sorry he will not be playing in the final. We never usually talk about referees, but, if all the players in the tournament had been sentenced in the same way, there would not have been enough yellow cards to go round."

The Soviet squad have clearly learned a lesson from their own bitter experience two years ago in the World Cup in Mexico, where their headlong attacking game was exposed by the counter-thrusts of pragmatic Belgium in a surprise 4-3 second-round defeat.

They have added an element of defensive steel to their game and toughened their approach. In the semi-final they softened up the Italians before Gennady Litovchenko and Oleg Protasov struck twice in a devastating three-minute spell midway through the second half.

Holding sets record, Cheshire smiles

LONDON (Reuter) — West Indian fast bowler Michael Holding, who retired from Test cricket last year, set a world best in one-day matches by taking eight wickets at a cost of only 21 runs in 10.2 overs, two of which were maidens.

The 34-year-old Jamaican's feat set Derby on the way to a six-wicket victory Sussex during the first round of the Natwest trophy.

There was another Natwest sensation — Cheshire registered what is only the seventh win by a Minor Counties side over a championship team in the 25 years of the 60-over competition. They performed the

feat in fantastic style, beating Northants by one wicket on the second last ball of play.

Nine of the runs off Holding's nearly incredible bowling came from no balls.

He bettered the world's previous best limited overs performance of eight for 26 by fellow-West Indian Keith Boyce for Essex against Lancashire in the English Sunday League 17 years ago.

"I seem to get better with age," Holding commented. "I had no idea I had set a record — it is naturally something to feel proud of."

The first round of the competition is the one day in the year non-championship sides have the chance to perform

fantastic feats — "The annual meeting of those who play for pleasure against those who play for cash," as Sussex skipper Paul Parker once said.

This year the rare honour fell to Cheshire, whose tallied batsmen staged a late flurry to snatch the one-wicket win over Northamptonshire with only one ball to spare.

Other results — Yorkshire beat Berkshire by 16 wickets; Middlesex beat Hertfordshire by 41 wickets; Kent beat Gloucestershire by 49 wickets; Essex beat Wiltshire by 291 runs; Cheshire beat Scotland by 85 runs; Gloucestershire beat Ireland by nine wickets; Hampshire beat Shropshire by 86 runs; Lancashire beat Lancashire by 87 runs; Lancashire beat Suffolk by 87 runs; Warwickshire beat Cambridgeshire by 87 runs.

Eddie Worrell takes 9 wickets for 16

Post Sports Reporter

Another memorable bowling performance by Hebrew University paceman Eddie Worrell — he took 9 for 16 in 9.2 overs against Maccabi Petah Tikva — was the highlight of the latest round of the local cricket league. With his smooth, elegant run-up belying the lethal quality of his bowling, Worrell sometimes resembles Malcolm Marshall at his most devastating.

Certainly that is the thought the hapless Maccabi Petah Tikva batsmen have shared in

their memories after his bowling carried the Jerusalem team to an 85-run victory.

The two impressive Ashdod sides both won again. Modern Ashdod inflicted a surprise first defeat of the season on Maccabi Lod. SCORERS: Young Ashdod beat Dismay by 77 runs. YA 76-9 (Gardner 40); Dismay 99 all out (Ezekiel Ezekiel 35, Nisim 18 and 4-26).

Netanya beat Friends CC Ramat by four wickets. Ramat 71 all out (Michael Jacob 6-31, Dismay 3-9); Netanya 75-4. Hebrew University beat Maccabi Petah Tikva by 89 runs. HU 139 (A. Horowitz 44, A. Rafi 4-30); PT 41 all out (E. Worrell 9-16). Yehoshua v Betshaba suspended due to an altercation after Yehoshua had been bowled out for 43 and their visitors were 31-3.

Doug Jones ties record

NEW YORK (AP) — Doug Jones, who was invited to Cleveland's spring training camp as a non-roster player, protected the Indians' 3-1 victory over the Boston Red Sox to tie a Major-League record with his 13th straight save.

Jones, who has a 1.87 ERA and has yielded only 19 hits in 33 1/3 innings while striking out 37, tied the record set last year by the Phillies' Steve Bedrosian. He broke the AL

mark of 12 straight set in 1973 by the Yankees' Sparky Lyle. Julio Franco, who singled in each of his first three at-bats, promptly opened the bottom of the eighth against Boston's Dennis "Oil Can" Boyd with his ninth home run of the season. Brook Jacoby, who homered in the fourth inning, singled home an insurance run.

The Red Sox, who scored 39 runs and had 59 hits in their previous three games, were held to four hits in eight innings by John Farrell, including Rich Gedman's seventh-inning homer.

AMERICAN LEAGUE Eastern Division

	W	L	Pct.	GB
Detroit	43	24	.642	—
New York	40	28	.588	4 1/2
Cleveland	39	29	.571	5 1/2
Chicago	36	32	.529	9
Minnesota	34	34	.500	11 1/2
Boston	34	34	.500	11 1/2
Toronto	33	35	.486	12
Baltimore	19	51	.271	26 1/2

	W	L	Pct.	GB
Oakland	43	24	.642	—
Minnesota	39	29	.571	4 1/2
Seattle	37	31	.543	6 1/2
Texas City	34	34	.500	11
Chicago	31	38	.449	15 1/2
California	30	41	.423	18 1/2
Seattle	27	45	.375	22

Western Division

	W	L	Pct.	GB
Los Angeles	43	24	.642	—
San Francisco	39	29	.571	4 1/2
Cincinnati	37	31	.543	6 1/2
San Diego	31	41	.435	16 1/2
Atlanta	24	44	.353	24 1/2

Wednesday's NL games — Philadelphia 5, Chicago 3; New 2, Cleveland 3; San Francisco 8, San Diego 7; Montreal 8, St. Louis 2; Houston 5, Cincinnati 1; Atlanta 4, Los Angeles 1.

Canteravitz does it again

By MITCH WEINSTOCK

It was the Ari Canteravitz show at the Sportek as the country's premier pitcher made it a one-man show in leading surging Crazy Richard over the 36'ers to the Israel Softball League western division championship.

The Argentine righthander hit a three-run homer in the first inning and a solo blast in the seventh as Crazy Richard posted a 10-5 win and swept the 36'ers in the best-of-three showdown.

After spotting Crazy Richard an early 4-0 lead, the 36'ers fought back to take a 5-4 edge going into the third. But left fielder Elhot Mirshah's three third-inning errors gave Crazy Richard two unearned runs and the champs never looked back.

Battling early control problems, Canteravitz held the 36'ers to only three hits after giving up three walks and six hits over the first two innings. The 36'ers mounted a threat in the fourth, but center fielder Google Gillett snagged three hard-hit drives to get Canteravitz out of the inning.

But they did not deter France's Herve Piegelin from making sure of the gold medal with his fourth victory out of six races in the lightweight division. His teammate Michel Quintin followed the champion home yesterday, but he neverthe-

less trails Holland's Marcel Reintsema, who finished third yesterday, in the overall standings.

Only three of the 11 starters completed yesterday's races. French pole vaulter Capard and American Frazee were in last overall, as they took the top two positions yesterday, followed by their counterparts in the Godschalk-Tarant.

For the third successive day the Italian Pier Witz and Leon De-Polled led France's Godschalk in the heavyweight sailing.

The week-long event reaches its climax tomorrow, with the final races in all three events starting at 11 a.m.

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BOOKS

July 2015

match

Likud primes election guns

IS NOT easy to gain the personal support and vote of 2,086 Herut National Committee members. The 104 candidates for the first round of internal elections, to be held this Wednesday, indicate that they are working at it round the clock.

The candidates are straining to get into the group of 35 elected Wednesday, known as panel — meaning the first batch of candidates elected for the Knesset — before they are graded in their slots on the list.

Although this is shrouded in secrecy, candidates are also feverishly forming alliances and agreements to support certain members. One such alliance, initiated last week by Matti Drobles and certain leaders of Herut's settlements to support a group of some 20 candidates in the first round, fell through when party leaders heard of it.

Moshe Arens, head of Herut's action committee, reprimanded those involved in the deal and asked Central Committee members to end the "three no's": not to take sides from anyone on how to vote; not to vote with the purpose of helping someone out rather than helping someone in; and not to be party to any deals to support a group of candidates. Notwithstanding his warning, the wheeling and dealing is on.

THE WIDELY-publicized democratic "revolution" in Labour is offed at in Herut, which democratized its internal election procedures in Knesset terms ago. Labour, they say, is 10 years behind in opening its ranks.

Herut circles also point out that democratic election is complete, apart from Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, who is No. 1, every candidate, no matter how senior, must be elected in the same way as the lower Labour leaders, on the other hand, ensured seven places at the top of the list for themselves and for Weizman, as well as four other top names on the list.

Labour's pride and joy, the bright new candidates elected last week, are political greenhorns compared to Herut's "young" members who entered the Knesset and government in the past decade and are now seasoned, senior politicians, Herut members hasten to point out. Compare, they urge, Eli Dayan and Amir Peretz to Moshe Katzav and Meir Shitrit. Katzav, who entered the Knesset in 1977, is today a minister. Although he will not be running this time, Shitrit, who entered the Knesset in 1981, is today treasurer of the Jewish Agency.

It is therefore not that crucial for Herut to produce a significant array of new faces for their Knesset list.

Their young forces are already inside.

The new Labour list, however, seems unduly disturbing to Herut, almost an obsession. Herut meetings have a way of turning to the Labour list. Even the Liberals, secure in their 12 or 13 "ensured" slots on Likud's list, have received an unequivocal message to freshen up their list "or else."

The 35-person panel to be chosen at Herut's first election round to be held at Herzliya's new country club next week, will be graded in three election rounds of septets the following week.

There is stiff competition to get into the panel, for only 11 new candidates out of 80 are expected to get

he shakes off his underdog image. Moreover, Levy has also understood that the "ethnic horse" on which he rode to fame in Herut, has run its course.

Levy's first shot in this direction was at an election meeting in Bat Yam this week. "Some say to me: you have not done enough for those of Sephardi origin," he suddenly remarked at the end of a speech. "If anyone believed that just because I have Sephardi origins I must be their representative and that beyond that I have no views or aspirations, they are making a mistake."

"I am an Israeli," he explained. "This country is my home. I respect the culture of any ethnic group, Jewish or not, but I am not an ethnic

rived, with proper Jabotinskyite "grandeur" and the meeting actually began, with a half-full hall.

The speakers, who numbered at least a dozen, spiced their statements with abundant pathos, bathos and kitsch — even by Likud standards. Few of them resisted the temptation to refer to that morning's murder of Eliahu Cohen, "our friend from the ranks of Betar."

Kaufman, for instance, said (repeating what he had said in the Knesset that day) that the village of the murderer must be found and at least 100 of its residents deported.

From the crimes of the Arabs, to the crimes of the Labour Party. The audience was astounded to learn from Kaufman that the *infidels* was caused by none other than Labour leader Shimon Peres, "who initiated the international conference and raised the Arabs' hopes." Other Labour crimes included "breaking the authority of the Israel Defence Forces and damaging the General Security Services and the Mossad."

Calling Levy "a leader, teacher, a man who sets hearts on fire and inspires vast numbers of people," Kaufman urged the audience to fight until November 1, when the Likud will "conquer the seat of power in a storm!"

Micha Reiser: "There are many reasons to throw Peres after the stone (a punning reference to Abba Eban)."

Milo: "Yitzhak Navon, excuse me, a 'plastic' deputy premier — can be compared to our deputy prime minister, David Levy?" Wild applause.

The audience then learned that Milo was deeply concerned for Levy's hairstyle. "I do not identify with Levy's camp. But if anyone tries to touch one hair of his head, I shall be the first to defend him."

Levy: "They threw out a gifted statesman, then they wept and said, how can we do without him? They ensured themselves seven places at the top. Couldn't they 'ensure' one more for Eban?"

ANOTHER MEETING this week, called to promote Herut candidate Yisrael Katz, was scheduled for 7:30 p.m. The big attraction: Ariel Sharon, Katz's boss. By 8:30 it had not begun, but the large banquet hall at Beit Bessarab resembled a raging battlefield with hundreds of people shouting and pushing.

The food disappeared minutes after the doors opened, the ravenous Herut activists getting more irritable by the minute.

The hall was packed and airless, but hundreds more pushed in, adding to the racket. Behind the podium sat Knesset members Uzi Landau and Ben-Elissar, Katz and one or two others.

(Continued on page 17)

POLITICAL DIARY / Michal Yudelman

in Of Herut's 29 incumbent Knesset members, only 24 are running. Apart from Shamir, who heads the list, four Knesset members — Yoram Aridor, Eliezer Shostak, Yigal Cohen-Orgad and Meir Shitrit — have dropped out of the race.

Assuming that all 24 Knesset members get re-elected, there is still room in the panel for 11 new candidates.

Some Herut sources, especially from David Levy's camp, have been at pains to explain that the panel results are not that significant, since the real importance of each candidate will be demonstrated in the grading process.

But one can assume that Levy's supporters are providing an alibi just in case Levy does not come first in the first round.

However, this year the panel is more significant than in previous years, because it will determine the places of seven Knesset members.

The grading rounds will place three septets on the list. With Shamir, who is at the top of the list, the number of candidates reaches 22. The remaining 12 candidates (numbers 23 to 35 on the panel) will enter the list according to the number of votes on which they got on to the panel, in the first round.

New candidates with good chances of making the panel, such as Benny Begin, Binyamin Netanyahu, Shaul Amior, Yisrael Katz, Eli Landau, Michael Kleiner and Tzahi Hanegbi, are also anxiously awaiting the first-round results before deciding which septet to aim for in the next round.

DAVID LEVY wants to break out of his ethnic slot. He is sick and tired of being typecast as a representative of the Sephardim or the disadvantaged.

But he has realized that he will never attain national status unless

representative. I am proud of my origin, not because of the Moroccan flag but because of the values my parents gave me, in a country which was not theirs."

AT 8:30 p.m. Monday, the Atzmaut cinema in Bat Yam, reserved for a Herut election meeting, was still empty. The invitation said the meeting would start at 7:30, but the trickle of people coming in through a malodorous alley seemed unconcerned.

The big guns listed on the invitation, Deputy Prime Minister David Levy, Deputy Minister Ronni Milo, Knesset members Eliyahu Ben-Elissar, Haim Kaufman, Micha Reiser, Yehoshua Maza, Kamal Mansur and Miriam Glaser-Tassa, Aluf (res.) Yehoshua Saguy and lots of others, were nowhere in sight.

A few dozen local Herut branch members came into the foyer and the sprinkling of candidates for Herut's internal elections, due next Wednesday, swooped on them with outstretched arms. A rumour went around that the VIPs were waiting in some hidden room for the hall to fill up.

A group of Arab and Druse dignitaries, in traditional dress, who had arrived on time, were patiently waiting in the first rows of the cinema hall.

By 8:45 the few journalists who had arrived were kicking themselves for not having gone instead to two lavish gatherings given that night by Liberal ministers Yitzhak Moda'i and Avraham Shari, who were gearing up for their own elections, held yesterday.

After two hours of waiting, the hungry invites at Herut's meeting, were disappointed for the "light refreshments" mentioned in the invitation. The desperate found them in a kiosk down the road.

At about 9 p.m. the speakers ar-

The mystery and the paradox

The Tora portion for this week is hokkai (Numbers 19:1-22:1)

A mystery and paradox mark the rules and regulations concerning the red heifer (Numbers 19:1-22). They prescribe a process of purification for anyone who has been in contact with dead body. This could be accomplished only after the "defiled" person was sprinkled with water mixed with ashes of the burned red heifer, ritually prepared by the high priest who became "defiled" himself while engaged in the preparation of this very device of purification. As the rabbis of old (TB Hulin 9b) put it: The red heifer serves at one and the same time "to purify the clean and to defile the clean" (*metaher tamei, metamei tahorim*).

That this rite seems incredibly odd and irrational is not some invention of the modern reasonable mind, either is the troublesome thought that it seems to border on magic and sorcery which Tora otherwise so vehemently abhors and rejects. The title of *para aduma* (literal translation: red cow, but usually rendered as red heifer) was not explained away by Tora commentators throughout the ages or rationalized in order to make it appear what it was not. It is as always taken for just what it is: bizarre, mysterious, paradoxical, etc., and as such was given a respectable place in the Tora and in Jewish ritual life for as long as the Holy Temple in Jerusalem stood.

An entire tractate of the Mishna called *para* is dedicated to the clarification and expounding of the laws of the red heifer. It is there that the addition is cited that between the time of Moses and that of the sages of the Mishna (circa 1,300 years) there was a record of at least 10 red heifers that were actually used for the sacred ritual.

In our own days, one of the strong arguments heard in rabbinic circles against renewing the sacrificial cult is that since we are deprived of the shew of the red heifer, we are in a state of being "defiled" by contact with the dead and are therefore prevented from offering ritual sacrifices which require a state of cleanness. The next red heifer to be sacrificed will be by the Messiah whose arrival we are anticipating" (Maimonides, *Ilhot Para Aduma* 3:4).

Rooted in Jewish religious life and history, how was the rite of *para aduma* reconciled with a religious approach that as a rule did not relinquish the human mind and always tried to find *tamei ha-mitzvot*, namely, some rationale, if not a total understanding, of the commandments? Indeed, nearly all of the laws dealing with purity and defilement

(and there are so many of them in the Tora) seem to us, from the perspective of time, as somewhat mysterious. But, the red heifer tops them all: Why are the ashes of a burned cow needed for the purpose of cleansing? Why must this cow be red of all things to the extent that if only two of its hairs were not fully red the cow became disqualified? Moreover, if the ashes did have a cleansing power, why should they have the effect of contaminating the priest who prepared them?

One answer to all of those amazing questions is consistently expressed in all Jewish sources. It says, that in matters of faith and religious ritual, one must realize that with all

"This is a basic (?) statute of the Teaching."

The words *zot hukkat ha-tora* can be properly understood only if we follow the rabbinic interpretation that we are dealing here with a special type of commandment, that of *hukka*. The Tora introduces it not only for the specific law of the red heifer, but rather as an example: "This is the *hukka* [which is an integral, often vital, part] of Tora."

Rashi in his classic commentary makes this point as he follows in the footsteps of the talmudic rabbis: "Because Satan and the nations of the world tamt Israel, saying: What is this command and what reason is there for it? Therefore, Scripture

TORA TODAY / Pinchas H. Peli

due respect to the human mind, sometimes the answer to certain questions is that there is no answer; that the only clarity is in the mysterious and that plain truth is in the paradox. Judaism does not teach along with Tertullian that *credo quia absurdum* ("I believe because it is absurd"), but rather *credo quia vis absurdum* ("I believe even if it is absurd").

THE PRECEPT of *para aduma* was deliberately singled out as such to be presented to us in Tora as a paradigm of the irrational, without which there is no true religion. According to the rabbis, there is a special term for this vital part of religious faith and practice and it is called *hukka* (pl. *hukkim*). The Tora is comprised of *mispatim* (rational laws of justice); *mitzvot* (ritual commandments which could and should be studied and explained, like the Sabbath); *eduyot* (testimonies that come to commemorate historical events), and last but not least, also *hukkim*, statutes, which must be accepted unquestionably only on the basis that they represent the king's orders!

The rules of the red heifer are introduced to us in most unusual phraseology: *zot hukkat ha-tora* (19:2), rendered in the standard translations as: "This is the statute of the law." It is awkward. What is the meaning of "the statute of the law"? "This is the statute of the law" would have made much more sense! The New International Version of the Bible has thus substituted this sentence with: "This is a requirement of the law," which is obviously far fetched. The Good News Bible omits it altogether, while the New JPS Bible reads: "This is the ritual law," and the Hirsch humash:

uses the term *hukka*, implying that it is an order from me and you have no right to have second thoughts about it!"

The same sentiment is expressed in many discussions in the midrash. The "secret" of the red heifer was withheld even from the wisest person who ever lived, King Solomon, who probed the meaning of all other precepts, but had to give up when he came to *para aduma*. "Whenever I grapple with it," — midrash psikta d' Rav kabana (psikta 4) quotes King Solomon as saying — "I struggle to get at its meaning. I go over it word by word, but finally I am forced to say: 'would I could get wisdom; but it is far from me' (Eccles. 7:23)."

The insistence on the *hukka* aspect of the law regarding the red heifer came, among other reasons, to make sure that the fulfillment of any precept would not depend on its rationale. Rationalizations come and go, but the word of the Lord stands forever. This ground rule notwithstanding, there developed a tremendous literature of *ta'amel ha-mitzvot* dealing with the search for the meaning of each and every mitzva. It starts with the Bible itself and continues to this day. Even the paradigmatic, paradoxical precept of the red heifer, which even Solomon, the wisest man on earth, had to give up in his efforts to discover its meaning, generated a plethora of explanations.

The most prevalent one discusses the symbolic connection between the mother, the (red) cow and the child, the (golden) calf. The mother is held responsible and must clean up the mess created by her child (midrash tanhuma, quoted also by Rashi 19:22). The cardinal sin of the worship of the golden calf suggests many symbolic, mystical and theo-

logical implications concerning the ritual of the red heifer. Some interpreters allude to the existing Egyptian milieu replete with bull and other animal worship and search here for the key to understanding the riddle of the *para aduma*. A modern midrash by the former chief rabbi of Tel Aviv, M.A. Amiel, finds here the battles of the red armies of socialism and communism against the golden calf of corrupt capitalism. Both must eventually be overcome to make room for a just world according to Tora (*D'rashot el-ami*, vol. 3).

IT WAS, however, Rabban Yohanan ben Zakai in the first century who drew a clear line between all the possible explanations that may indeed have their merit, and what, in his opinion, was the meaning of *hukka* in the Tora.

The following story appears in a number of ancient rabbinic sources: A heathen questioned Rabban Yohanan ben Zakai, saying: The things you Jews do appear to be a kind of sorcery. A heifer is brought, it is burnt, is pounded into ash, and its ash is gathered up. Then one of you gets defiled by contact with a corpse, two or three drops of the ash mixed with water are sprinkled upon him, and he is told, "You are cleansed!"

Rabban Yohanan answered the heathen... "Have you ever seen a man whom the spirit of madness has possessed?" The heathen replied: "Yes." "And what do you do for such a man?" "Roots are brought, the smoke of their burning is made to rise about him and water is sprinkled upon him until the spirit of madness flees."

Rabban Yohanan said: "Do your ears hear what your mouth is saying? It is the same with a man who is defiled by contact with a corpse — he too is possessed by a spirit, the spirit of uncleanness."

Then the heathen left, Rabban Yohanan's disciples said: "Our master, you put off that heathen with a mere straw of an answer, but what answer will you give us?"

Rabban Yohanan answered: "By your lives, I swear: the corpse does not have the power by itself to defile, nor does the mixture of ash and water have the power by itself to cleanse. The truth is that the purifying power of the Red Heifer is a decree of the Holy One who has said: 'I have set it down as a *hukka*. I have issued it as a decree. You are not permitted to transgress my decree. This is the *hukka* of the Tora!'"

Rabbi Peli is the Blechner Professor of Jewish thought and literature, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev.

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Shabbat	Shabbat
7:10 p.m.	8:31 p.m.
7:22 p.m.	8:34 p.m.
7:23 p.m.	8:38 p.m.
7:26 p.m.	8:24 p.m.
7:22 p.m.	8:27 p.m.
Tora portion: Hukat	

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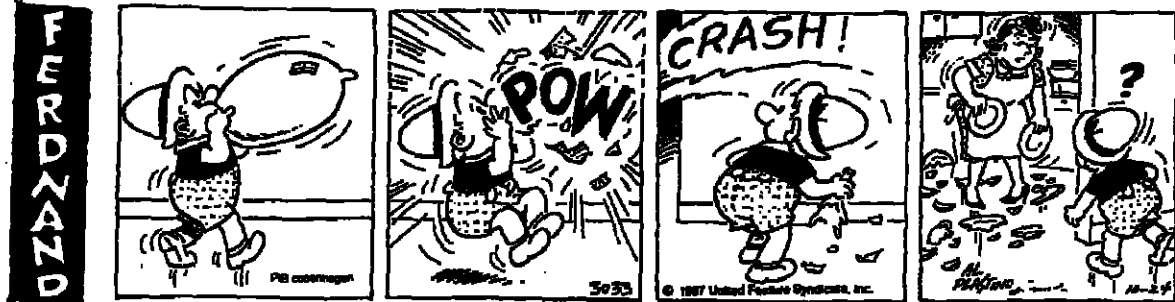
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modulus

Where were the TV crews?

IN THE Friday before last, visiting daughter and her family at their orthodox moshav in the Jordan valley, we had our Shabbat eve rest out on their lawn. As we were singing the zemirot (Shabbat songs), realized that the peering of eyes about six kilometres directly to the east indicated a Jordanian road, and that the large cluster of lights along the road was a Jordanian town, as were similar clusters high up on the horizon, in the Gilead mountains.

Suddenly I heard what I thought was the singing of Oriental-style zemirot from a neighbour's house. But our son-in-law listened carefully for a moment, and said it was the muezzin calling the Moslem faithful to evening prayer in the village about 10 and a half km. to the north, on the Israeli side of the Jordan. There was no television crew present to record the sights and sounds. And if there had been there, what was there to record?

We asked how Jewish-Arab relations had been lately, especially between the moshav and its neighbours. Fine, we were told. The Arabs of the area were peasants devoted to their land and had no interest in the grand politics of the so-called *intifada*; this is what villagers

said they had told two agitators who had recently come to recruit them for "the uprising."

Late the next afternoon, we noticed smoke billowing in the distance, and then saw a row of flames moving steadily across a sere wheat-field belonging to that village. Someone from the moshav called the Beit She'an fire brigade.

Some men of the moshav rushed to the area, where they encountered

Moshe Kohn

men of the village, and together they fought the flames with whatever water they could get hold of. Then they all helped the fire brigade, and the blaze was soon extinguished.

There was no television crew to record that scene, either.

Yes, I have omitted something. If the blaze had continued for another hour, it would have reached some of the moshav's hothouses and barns.

So the *moshavnikim* did it all for themselves, you may say. Perhaps. But isn't that where peace begins — when people, regardless of whether or not they love each other, join to fight a common peril?

NOR WAS THERE a television crew to record a similar scene a week earlier. That time, we were visiting another daughter and her family at an Orthodox moshav in the South Hebron hills.

On Shabbat afternoon, they had company for tea: a young man from a tiny neighbouring Arab settlement (yes, Arabs, too, live in "settlements"), one of several of the men there who had worked with members of the moshav and become friendly with them. With him were his wife and their baby.

The wife is a Hebronite, and after their marriage they moved to Hebron, where he was taken into the family business. They were combining their visit to the husband's home, with a visit to our daughter and her family, who were about to move into their permanent housing. They had brought them some kitchenware as a housewarming gift.

That, incidentally, was the Saturday of the general strike declared by the *intifada* command on the eve of U.S. Secretary of State Shultz's visit.

No; no television crew was present. But if one had been there, what would it have recorded?

the first thing that caused them was Peres's political plans, i.e. the international conference. Peres laid his schemes with the help of his boys and emissaries throughout the world. Peres is being helped towards his goals by both the U.S. and the Soviet Union. Even Hussein is suddenly in favour of an international conference. While all Peres cares about — I'm not saying he doesn't care about Israel, as well — is to sit in the prime minister's chair once more.

David Magen: "I hope the next Defence Minister will be Arik Sharon, and together with him, Yisrael Katz will enter the Knesset, and we'll choose a new team for the next government headed by (pause, expectant silence) — Yitzhak Rabin."

Embarrassed silence. "Er...er...I mean Yitzhak Shamir." Relieved sigh. Titters.

Sharon reminds all present that he, too, is a candidate in next Wednesday's elections and urges Central Committee members to choose the best team possible, ignoring all lists and deals. "Vote for all the ministers," he advises.

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INFORMATION

(Continued from Page One)

oments are silenced; and finally, the finished news reports are subject to tightened censorship. Surrounding this system of restrictions like an outer ring is a public atmosphere of hostility to the press, encouraged from time to time by official statements directed against journalists.

Reporters no longer have direct access to areas of unrest in the territories. It is now standard IDF procedure to declare virtually any scene of major violence a closed military zone — "closed" only to journalists, not to local Arab and Jewish residents. The official rationale for such action is that the presence of the media encourages further demonstrations and unrest. Reporters have repeatedly been compelled to sneak around army roadblocks in order to get into closed areas, though they face possible loss of their press card if they are caught.

WITH FIRST-HAND access restricted, reporters have turned to secondary sources of information, but these, too, have been systematically shut off. The Palestine Press Service in East Jerusalem, which drew on a range of "stringers" to provide reporters with Palestinian accounts of events in the territories, was closed down on Land Day. The PPS reports were often used by the foreign press as counter-versions to accounts supplied by the IDF.

The Government Press Office announced a ban on distribution of material by Palestinian organizations in journalists' mailboxes on its premises.

Palestinian journalists, a source of information to Israeli and foreign colleagues, have been arrested for alleged security offences. The East Jerusalem magazine *Al Awdah* (in English and Arabic) and the Israeli newspaper *Derech Hanitzot*, which reported extensively on the uprising from a Palestinian perspective, were closed down for alleged links to illegal organizations.

Israeli sources of information have also been muzzled. The IDF spokesman's office in Jerusalem, once the major source of news for reporters covering the territories, appears now to follow a policy of playing down the scope of unrest by not reporting some incidents and giving only brief, laconic accounts of others. In many cases, tough IDF responses, such as arrest sweeps and closures of villages, are not reported.

Information, in the view of the IDF spokesman, is a weapon in the war with the Palestinians in the territories. He believes that given in the right perspective and quantity, news can be turned to the IDF's advantage, just as Palestinian news accounts are released to further the cause of the *intifada*.

Information on many punitive administrative and bureaucratic measures taken against Palestinians is not forthcoming from the Civil Administration or the Defence Ministry, in a deliberate attempt to throw up a smoke-screen in the context with the rebelling population.

Inevitably, the smoke-screen obscures reality not only from the Palestinians but also from Israeli and foreign journalists and their readers, unless they receive information from local Arab sources.

The third circle of information restriction is censorship, which has been tightened on reports from the territories during the uprising. Perceiving the fight against the uprising as a war, the defence establishment has utilized the censor's scissors as a weapon against the uprising leadership.

Censorship has been especially directed at reports covering targets of the uprising leadership. News of resignations by Israeli-appointed Arab public officials has sometimes been censored, as well as reports of attacks on persons suspected of working with the security authorities. Also censored are the contents of leaflets published by the uprising leadership, and reports of boycott calls by activists.

BEYOND THE restrictions hindering news coverage, a palpable anti-media mood has been created in response to the graphic coverage by the press and foreign television of ugly confrontations in the territories and excesses by soldiers. The media is perceived as "hostile" — focusing on the negative, serving Israel's Arab enemies.

One manifestation of the anti-media spirit: the car-stickers increasingly visible in Jerusalem, distributed by a group of West Bank settlers, stating, "The People Against Hostile Media." They carry an illustration of a snake flicking its forked tongue at a shield bearing the Star of David.

A strong indicator of the public mood is the reaction of soldiers in the territories to journalists. The soldiers, both reservists and recruits, represent a cross-section of Israeli society, and their responses appear to reflect opinions of broad sectors of the population.

Israeli and foreign correspondents have reported numerous cases of rough treatment by soldiers, ranging from verbal abuse to physical assault and threats at gunpoint. At least one of these incidents has been photographed and published in the press. At a news conference last week, the Foreign Press Association reported over 100 complaints from correspondents of beatings and harassment since the start of the uprising.

THE EMERGING picture is one of a growing rift between the media and the authorities. The government and IDF, perceiving themselves to be at war, have clamped increasing restrictions on journalists for what they believe are overriding reasons of security. Irresponsible reporting, they argue, serves the other side and unfairly slanders the army, which in fact maintains a high standard of conduct and is guilty of relatively few excesses.

The energy of the authorities, however, appears to have been directed primarily at restricting and chastising the press, rather than tackling the root problems reflected in the correspondents' reports. The authorities, it seems, are immensely concerned over Israel's image, especially abroad, as if the uprising were primarily a public-relations problem.

ROSEN

(Continued from Page 8)

stress on opening *almud toras*. What has happened with the Russians is a crime. The Zionists here talked about the "negation of the Diaspora," and look what happened."

He halts himself abruptly in the midst of this tirade: "The time is not yet ripe for a full accounting on this subject. Some people here wanted to do to Romanian Jewry what they did to Russian Jewry. But I was victorious over Communism, and I succeeded here for 16 years of 'shasha' aliya."

"I have no need for credit from anybody, but I must stress that the problem of Romanian Jewry is solved. Any Jew who wants to leave Romania can do so. Well over a thousand a year are coming on aliya each year now, and in a few years, all but an ageing remnant will be

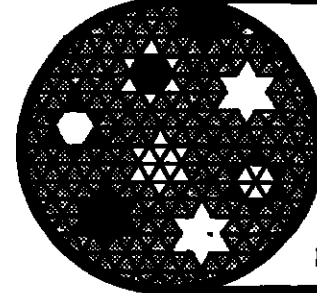
here in this land."

Not only Jews came forth from Romania. Since 1965, 4,000 Torah scrolls and 30,000 sacred books from vanished communities were brought here. Many of the books are in a special library for halachic literature at Bar-Ilan University.

When asked when he will join his people here, Rosen smiles and offers a practised reply: "I'm here already. I have a flat in Tel Aviv and I spend half of the year here. I can leave whenever I want, but the leaders here ask me to stay. Golda, Shazar, Begin — they all asked me to stay on."

"But I am getting old and soon I'll have to think about myself."

He reflects on this for a minute and continues: "But there is no one there to replace me. I am not only a rabbi, I am everything for the community."



THE ISRAEL CONNECTION

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PEN PALS

University student, age 24, interests: travelling, politics, music, etc. Looking for Israeli pen pal-Francesco Labella, via Valle Scivra 2, Roma 00141, Italy.

American Jewish male, age 30, interested in aliya, seeks Israeli penpal for language and cultural exchange and friendship. Box MJ 364.

Italian student, girl 25, seeks Israeli penpal. Write preferably in French, Italian or Spanish. Box RB 377.

Israeli-born American diplomat, 33, Ph.D., son of survivors, Washington D.C., seeks bright, personable, and attractive female counterpart. Box ED 354.

Los Angeles DJM, 47, mensh, excellent health, active Jewish community. Seeks compassionate woman for enjoyable relationship. Age unimportant. Box BI 350.

JM Renaissance widower 57", healthy, tennis buff, writer, artist, etc., seeks JF (49-53), healthy, slim, attractive, intelligent, travel U.S. or...? Visiting Israel August or September. Recent photo, please. Will respond. Postal connection. Box #117, 4725 E. Sunrise Drive, Tucson, Arizona 85718.

N.Y. single Jewish businessman, handsome, 33, 5'9", seeks slim, pretty, warm, Jewish woman for beautiful relationship. Photo appreciated. Box SI 390.

FLJM, 27, enjoys nature, pets, children, reading, travel, dining out, anything new, seeking petite, pretty, intelligent JF. Photo please. Box SH 400.

Japanese student, 29, will visit Israel in December. Interests: Listening to Paul Simon, archaeology. Ken Yokoyama, 3636 16th St. N.W. #8664, Washington D.C., 20010.

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Israeli, 41, female, returning in August, invites offers of interesting assignments. Qualifications: Single businesswoman, 33, seeks correspondence with Israeli lady for friendship with serious intentions. Box PK 346.

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Sensitive male, 36, intelligent, many interests, professional, seeks similar female for relationship L.A. area. Box WJ 403.

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(Continued from page 15)

"He followed faithfully in the footsteps of his minister, a young but mature, man. He stayed at his side during the hard times, and we know how hard those times were..." began Landau dolefully.

Landau, Magen and Katz himself all brought up, as expected, the murder at Moshav Shekol all managing somehow to imply that the Labour Party was to blame. Who, after all, created the situation in which, as Ben-Elissar noted, housewives are afraid to go shopping in Ness Ziona and Dizengoff Street?

Ben-Elissar: "An usher in the Knesset took me aside and said: you must visit. When you came into power you took us out of the shit."

LIKUD

That's the simple truth, not in high-brow academic terms, but in the words of the people. Let's continue taking the nation out of the shit!"

At this point Ben-Elissar stopped mid-speech and regained his seat as, at a signal, the audience burst into applause for Arik Sharon's entrance. Except that no one entered. "Sorry, mistake. Another 10 minutes," the usher called from the door. Ben-Elissar took the stand again, only to repeat the ceremony when Sharon did finally arrive in the flesh.

Yisrael Katz, pink cheeks and baby-face: "How did the riots start?"

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CIVIC CENTRE

(Continued from Page One)

Ron (Engineering International, owned by the Reichmanns, won the international bidding for the project. The Reichmanns will initially invest \$30 million in planning and construction. The city will in turn pay rent to the contractor for 20 years after the completion of the complex.

The municipality plans to finance the project mainly by selling off its assets elsewhere in the city. The credit arrangement with the Reichmanns will allow the municipality to get the best price for its assets because it will not be under great pressure to sell, the city spokesman said.

The plan for the square was designed by municipality architects Yosef Blum and Ayala Lifshitz, under the direction of former city engineer Amnon Nir.

An additional floor will be added to the buildings that line either side of Auster Park, located in front of City Hall. The park itself will be enlarged by eliminating the road that now runs along its northern side. A new four-story L-shaped building will be built along the western side of Rehov Shmuel Yisrael. The interiors of the historic buildings in the area will be modernized, but their facades will be preserved. The Avihai Hospital and the Hall of Heroism Museum, slated for destruction under a plan drafted in the early 1970's, will remain uncashed in the upcoming construction.

The architects have also taken pains to preserve the small symbols of the city's recent past: street numbers from the Mandatory period, Armenian ironwork, Russian insignias and bullet-scarred walls from the days when the city was divided.

IDF UNIT

(Continued from Page One)

The leaflet calls for a general strike on June 28 in order "to mark the annexation of Jerusalem... in affirmation of the Arab identity of the city." It calls upon the Palestinians in the territories and East Jerusalem "to consider June 27 and 28 days for the escalation of the struggle... to stage marches in all the areas and particularly in Jerusalem under the slogan of Jerusalem, the Capital of the Palestinian state."

The uprising's leaders affirm their demand "for the resignation of all employees of the departments of planning, housing, population registry, and motor vehicle licensing." The leaflet openly calls the inhabitants to attack mayors appointed by the Civil Administration: "Our striking forces are requested to mount attacks against appointed municipal and village councils and against those who have not yet resigned from the tax department and the police force."

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Can Gaon turn Koor around?

THIS MONDAY, Koor will finally publish its horrendous profit-and-loss statement for 1987. Whether the red ink will total \$100 million, \$200m., or even \$300m. - as some observers predict - makes little difference at this point.

The crucial issue facing the company is whether newly-appointed managing director Benny Gaon can deliver on his much-vaunted "Turnaround Programme" - a revolutionary restructuring of the Histadrut industrial giant.

The essence of the programme is to cut this giant down to size. Shaking off the terminology, and possibly even the ideology of the past, Koor officials are now beginning to speak the language of American economic textbooks in describing how they intend to do this.

No longer is safeguarding workers' jobs uppermost in their minds. Instead, the jargon has become one of "optimizing our assets," "market-orientation," "decentralizing labour relations," and "positive cash flow." Koor's management has made a point of emphasizing that their baby is a "turnaround" programme - not just another run-of-the-mill Israeli recovery programme.

Indeed, the key decision-makers at the company have apparently come to the realization that time is running out, and only drastic measures can save Koor - and with it, one of the Histadrut's main power bases in the economy. When Gaon took over the job last month, following Yeshayahu Gavish's resignation, he knew it would be no bed of roses and immediately began a clean sweep.

Whether or not Gavish was solely to blame for the years of financial mismanagement at the company is now a moot point. The fact that longstanding Financial Director Shvach Ophir also recently resigned suggests that others may also have been seen as responsible.

Gavish was not blind to Koor's problems but perhaps he was too late in seeing them coming. Moreover, Koor's former boss never had a free hand to implement the measures he thought vital for the company's recovery, as Histadrut Secretary-General Yisrael Kessar initially refused to pay their political price.

These differences came to a head when workers at Koor's Alliance tire factory refused to accept a

management-proposed recovery programme, calling for cuts in manpower and wages. Gavish charged in his letter of resignation that Kessar had gone behind his back by supporting the workers. An additional bone of contention, as Gavish stated in the resignation letter, was the loss-making Phoenicia glass factory in Yeroham, another Koor subsidiary which Gavish wanted to sell - a move Kessar opposed.

GAON, HOWEVER, should be spared these problems. His main condition for stepping into Gavish's shoes from the more buoyant atmosphere at the Co-op supermarket chain was that he would call all the shots.

Not yet two months at the top, Gaon has already begun moulding the senior management echelon at Koor to his liking, bringing over several loyal lieutenants from the Co-op.

But the first real shot sounded more like a bombshell - the unveiling of his turnaround programme. The future battle cry for Koor, according to this programme, is profitability at all costs.

In a nutshell, says one senior Koor official, the new motto at the company will from now on be: "Ask not what Koor can do for you, but what you can do for Koor." For as many as 3,000 workers this year, this will mean joining the ranks of the unemployed.

To pinpoint the company's weaknesses and formulate solutions for its crises of finance, management, and morale, Koor enlisted the help of outside consultants, both at home and abroad. Two major studies were conducted - a thorough analysis of the company's portfolio and a look at alternative turnaround strategies.

A turnaround programme, emphasizes the senior company official, aims to match objectives with the organizational structure of a given company. It begins by analysing the environmental conditions under which a company operates, along with the "mistakes of the past". After analyzing the company's financial situation in 1987 and the first half of this year, the programme prioritizes Koor's new principle objectives - the top one being to "stop the bleeding".

Returning to profitability must be the key, with

the plan talking of "special treatment" for those companies consistently mired in the red. To improve Koor's cash-flow situation, it calls for reductions in assets and real estate, merging holdings, forming partnerships in its subsidiaries with other investors, selling off shares in its holdings, and large reductions in overhead.

Steps in this direction have already been taken. The company is currently negotiating the sale of its Yuval Gad subsidiary, which manufactures portable homes, with several potential buyers. It has been seeking a foreign investor for its largest subsidiary, the Tadiran electronics firm, for some time now. Koor also sold 24.9% of its shares in the

Jeff Black and
Judy Maltz

Tambour paint company to the Discount Investment Company this week. As far as real estate goes, its Agan building in Bat Yam and the Helene Curtis building in Tel Aviv, among a long list of other properties, are now on the market.

A big switch planned for the company is its change in focus from a financial corporation to a more marketing-oriented one. According to Koor officials, using the same capacity, the company can sell 20-30 per cent more via this shift in strategy. To achieve this goal, Gaon appointed many marketing men like himself among the new faces at the top.

Ya'acov Ibn-Ezra, head of the newly-merged consumer goods and internal trade division, among other positions, has served as a marketing manager at both the Co-op and Tadiran. Savinon Avivi, the new head of the organization and administration division, was previously in charge of special projects at the Co-op. Shaul Tzafir, now heading the company's foreign trade division, previously ran Koortrade's offices in Spain, Western Europe, Egypt, South Africa, and South America.

Improving management control is also high up on the priority list. If the programme is to succeed, decisions must be executed quickly and accurately. To this end, a new special executive committee has been formed, whose members include Gaon, Exec-

utive Vice-President and Financial Director Shimon Ravid, Planning and Development Department head Gurion Meltzer, and Avivi. This committee will meet frequently to speed-up the decision-making process.

Although managers on the local level will have a freer hand in running their affairs, they will also be expected to report to their bosses and alert them promptly of any new developments on the horizon.

In the longer run, Koor also sees itself becoming less of a management company and more of a holding company. In practice, what this translates into is more decentralization in labour relations and financial management. As companies begin to stand on their own two feet, outside of Koor's shadow, each plant will have the authority to negotiate wage contracts independently with its own workers, based on how much it can afford and how much workers are producing.

Consolidation and manpower cutbacks are some of the more immediate goals. The company's eleven groups have already been reduced to six: metal and steel, consumer goods and internal trade, chemicals, food, electronics, and Tadiran.

Since January, 1,500 workers have already been laid off, with the same number expected to go over the course of the year. "But the first steps will be taken in this building (Koor's administrative headquarters)," says the senior Koor official. One hundred managers and members of the company's foreign trade division, he says, are expected to be dropped shortly.

WILL THE company that emerges from this major restructuring effort bear any resemblance to the Histadrut-owned industrial conglomerate that saw workers' welfare as a be-all and end-all? Or will it look more like the country's second largest, but far more financially successful, holding company - Clal?

Officials at Koor still wince when comparisons between the two concerns are drawn, insisting that their strategies, philosophies, and approaches are worlds apart. "The big difference between us lies in what we do with our profits," asserts the Koor official - although this point is merely hypothetical today. "As a matter of principle," he continues, "we believe in reinvesting our profits, so as to

further develop the company."

By no means, he insists, has Koor in any way deviated from its Histadrut roots through its far-reaching restructuring programme. "We are going along the right road of the Histadrut," he says. "Our purpose has not changed, it is only the means of achieving our goals which are being rethought."

What the issue boils down to, in the minds of Koor's new management staff, is whether it is preferable to allow workers to live for today, or whether they should sacrifice a little now so that tomorrow will be better. "When you look at the good of the workers," says the senior official, "you have to look at the long term. I am prepared to hire more people - the question is at what price."

But it is impossible to ignore the political significance of Benny Gaon's major overhaul of what is by far the country's largest industrial concern. The new man at the top had no qualms about dropping his bombshell just a few months before the national elections. We can only speculate now on what other moves he may have planned for the post-election period, when he will no longer be under pressure from his Labour party bosses to make compromises and accommodate the workers. Interestingly enough, his Histadrut and Hevrat Ha'ovdim bosses have not uttered a word in the past few weeks, apparently having come to the realization that only drastic measures will work.

But for now Benny Gaon is bracing himself for the big show on Monday when he will have the "honour" of presenting the press with Koor's 1987 balance sheet and financial statements along with a working programme for the second half of the year.

As all the explanations and excuses for the company's failures have already been heard, he will probably not bother wasting his time on his own interpretations of the past. Like other new bosses, he probably won't be embarrassed either to throw all the dirt on the table. But what he will certainly focus on is the nitty-gritty business of defining where Koor is headed and how it intends to get there.

If he succeeds in turning the company around - which only time will tell - Benny Gaon may very well go down in the books as Israel's own answer to Lee Iacocca.

Keeping tuned to the demands of Japanese diamond consumers

ON THE 18th floor of the Ramat Gan diamond complex, an elderly gentleman bends over his desk, peering through his lens at the precious stones spread out on a sheet of white paper. He carefully marks the raw diamonds with instructions that they be cut into shapes of the rising sun.

Like his colleagues in the diamond centre, even this old-timer has

to the young, has lately become one of the main purchasers of Israeli diamonds, he notes.

LAST OCTOBER, many dealers feared that a new recession in the world diamond industry was imminent, following the crash on Wall Street. Aggravating these fears was the fact that the crash came just before the Christmas buying season,

Judy Maltz and Shlomo Maoz

become attuned to the demands and tastes of the growing market of young Japanese diamond consumers.

Whereas ten years ago, barely more than one-quarter of all Japanese women owned diamonds, today more than three out of every four have diamonds on their fingers.

With Israel being the world's largest manufacturer of polished diamonds, supplying half the world market, it's no surprise that the diamond trade between the two countries has been growing in leaps and bounds. This past March was the first time ever, in fact, that exports to Japan and Hong Kong exceeded those to the U.S., indicating a strong eastward shift.

Still, Japan buys only one-quarter of its diamonds from Israel, which suggests that there is still great potential for growth in the market. Several years ago, the rich and elderly were the main purchasers of the precious stone in Japan. Today, more and more, it is the young, and sometimes even the working-class people, who are becoming a dominant factor in the market.

"Diamond stores are replacing kimono stores in Japan," says Haim Naveh, managing-director of the Ramat Gan exchange. The large Miki Corp. chain store with its 500 branches, which caters in particular

when 40 per cent of the industry's annual turnover is typically sold.

These fears, fortunately, turned out to be unfounded, and dealers are once again optimistic about the future. The export forecasts for this year predict a new record of \$2.5b., after reaching \$2b. last year.

Gershon Stschik, a leading exporter of fancy cut diamonds, explains that the only diamond purchasers who were affected by the crash were the rich, but since over the past decade an increasing number of buyers view diamonds not as an investment but as consumer goods, the industry was saved.

In the early 1980s, when diamonds were still regarded as investment goods, the industry did, in fact, slump after President Ronald Reagan adopted an extremely high interest-rate policy. In the Israeli industry, the number of workers employed in diamonds dropped from 11,400 in 1977 to 7,800 during the height of the world recession in 1982. Exports, accordingly, fell to less than \$1b. in the same year.

SINCE THE comeback in the industry, Japan has been accounting for an ever-larger share of Israel's diamond exports. Whereas only 11 per cent of the country's diamonds went to Japan in 1985, almost 20 per cent went to that market in the first quar-

ISRAELI - JAPANESE TRADE in millions of dollars

	EXPORT	IMPORT	ISRAEL'S SURPLUS
1984	190 *(112)	190	—
1985	210 (135)	186	24
1986	323 (220)	307	16
1987	495 (370)	401	94
1988 (I-III)	165 (129)	121	44

* The figures in brackets are the diamond exports which are included in the total export.

ter of the year.

In 1987, the value of diamond sales to Japan reached \$370m., and based on the first quarter results this year, the forecast is for over half-a-billion dollars.

Why have Israeli diamond dealers succeeded where their counterparts in the country's high-technology industries have encountered difficulties? First, every second diamond in the world is cut and polished in Israel. Second, diamonds, unlike electronic devices, are easily handled and transportable, and there is virtually no need to build an infrastructure in another country to handle sales. Nor is any maintenance or servicing work required on the stone. Ironically, then, even though diamond sales to Japan are soaring, Israel has no sales representatives in the land of the rising sun. All it takes is an order over the phone or by telex, and within 48 hours, the goods are delivered.

Diamond Exchange president Moshe Schmitzer, who has experience with the Far East for three decades, explains that the Japanese prefer to send their representatives here to look for good deals instead of suffering with buying locally. What, in Schmitzer's opinion, does Israel have to offer the Japanese? Good prices and high-quality merchandise. "There are no sentiments in this business," he says. But unlike their American counterparts, Schmitzer points out, the Japanese do not base their purchasing decisions solely on the issue of price.

For them, trust is even more important. Says Schmitzer: "By nature, they are quite wary. But once they trust you, they're open and loyal. They're very fair, and they let you live and don't try to milk you."

What type of advice would Schmitzer give newcomers to the diamond industry? "Buy their trust with long and hard work. Don't push, and don't lose patience."

Charlie Hollander, a third generation member of the diamond business, sells 60 per cent of his diamonds to Japan. Seventeen years ago, he recalls, he met a Japanese man who was trying to learn the business. "In exchange," he says, "I got the opportunity to learn about their mentality, which was unbelievable luck." This, he says, was the key to his success in doing business with Japan.

Many Japanese today, in fact, who are keen on learning the business have opened their own offices in the Ramat Gan complex. They can be seen walking down the halls, in the elevators and restaurant. But once they are onto a deal, they have no problem sitting for 12 hours straight, examining the merchandise being offered.

Unlike buyers elsewhere in the world, the Japanese come to Israel knowing exactly what they want and are not prepared to compromise. The country's diamond dealers deserve credit for having learned to service these tough customers, and hopefully other industries will follow suit.

Development town instability

As a slogan, development towns have been in the forefront of Israeli politics for many years. Everyone is keen on showing how much is being done to "develop" such places as Beit She'an, Ma'alot or Shlomi. Yet it appears that development towns are losing the race against time. They are lagging behind, and the gap between centre and periphery is growing larger.

The main yardstick for measuring the performance of development towns has been the quantity and quality of employment they can offer. This is no accident. Given the role of these towns as "absorbers" of immigration, it is clear that the first priority was to provide their residents with suitable employment.

But according to a research study conducted by Victor Lavi, under the auspices of the Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies, the employment situation in development towns is not only bad, but in the past few years has clearly deteriorated.

Lavi found that, since the middle of the last decade, unemployment in development towns has been growing rapidly. In 1970, the unemployment rate in development towns was 5 per cent. In 1986, it had increased to 11.5 per cent, double the national average. In addition, the average length of unemployment in development towns doubled in the last ten years, and now stands at approximately 50 weeks. Those unemployed 50 weeks or more represent two-thirds of all unemployed in development towns.

Lavi says this means that the unemployment problem is mainly concentrated on individuals who are out of a job for a long period of time. They are not entitled to unemployment benefits, and must depend on the welfare system. Nor are they entitled to any vocational training owing to their relatively advanced age.

All these figures are based on the official unemployment numbers issued by the Central Bureau of Statistics. But Lavi says the official statistics underestimate the extent of the problem. The bureau counts as unemployed only those who looked for a job, or claim they looked for a job, in the weeks prior to the labour-force survey it conducts. In other words, persons who have given up searching for work, are no longer counted as unemployed. Many of them are between the ages of 24 to 59, and their absence from

official statistics blurs the extent of the problem.

In the case of the development towns, Lavi found, workers cease looking for a job after losing their previous position. The number of individuals who drop out of the labour force after being dismissed from their previous workplace, is three times as high as the number of individuals that continue looking. To these one must add the number of persons who ceased looking for a job after being unemployed for a while.

Lavi gives two kinds of reasons for the high rate of unemployment among residents of development towns. The first has to do with long-term unemployment, and the second with occupational instability.

Avi Temkin

ing population of development towns. Youngsters with 10 to 12 years of schooling joined the labour force in large numbers in recent years but the demand for them seems to be low. The same pattern is true of women.

But these demographic and structural changes can account for no more than a third in the rise of unemployment in the last years. Two-thirds of the increase is directly linked to the fluctuations in the entire economy. But, Lavi says, fluctuations affect development towns differently from well-to-do areas. When a factory in a development town closes its gates, or cuts its workforce, due to a fall in demand, there is no new factory once demand picks up again.

For Lavi this is one of the keys to understanding unemployment in development towns, something which he calls "occupational instability." Workers in development towns have a higher probability of losing their jobs, and a much lower probability of finding a new one.

According to the study, 70 per cent of the gap in employment between well-to-do and development towns has to do with occupational instability.

This is closely linked to the very high rate of mortality among factories in the development towns. Lavi found that 70 per cent of the plants established between 1970 and 1983, no longer existed in 1983. On the other hand, 70 per cent of the

establishments which were active in 1983 did not exist in 1970. This instability has a direct effect on employment.

Such instability could easily be related to the way the government has tried to encourage investment in development areas. Many of these firms establish plants in development towns, enjoy the benefits granted by the law in tax exemptions and grants for a few years, and when these expire, they close down.

Many of these plants are "traditional" industries. They produce textile goods, leatherware or food products. They have a relatively short life-expectancy, and therefore little interest in training their workers. Workers in development towns therefore show lower productivity and have little seniority, and the firms employing them have invested relatively little in their training. All this increases their chances of being dismissed once demand decreases due to economic fluctuations.

Moreover, wages in these industries are so low that unemployment benefits discourage workers from looking for a job. A vicious circle of low wages, low productivity and occupational instability is thus created. Lavi found that persons with technical education have a difficult time finding jobs, and this indicates that there is a problem regarding the demand for qualified workers in development towns.

Although Lavi does not deal directly with potential solutions, it is clear that what is needed is a comprehensive plan to solve the mounting crisis. Such a plan would include the creation of a supply of highly-qualified workers through proper training-schemes, which could be financed with part of the sums now spent trying to encourage private firms to establish factories in development towns. "Traditional industries" must be replaced by sophisticated industries which rely on qualified manpower.

The solution, then, would lie not in indiscriminate help for private investors who are milking the budget, but in an active industrial policy that would be based on hiring more sophisticated industries, which would be able to offer a more stable environment for those they employ.

The economic pages are edited by Shlomo Maoz.

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YARON AMITAI

Keep the Med-Dead canal dead

When despondent, take some antidepressant pills. When faced by the nifada, look for consensus-drawing Zionist visions. Or so thinks President Chaim Herzog as shown by his attempts to prescribe remedies for our current national gloom.

Speaking at the opening session of the Zionist Executive last Sunday, he president called for reviving the abandoned Mediterranean-Dead Sea Canal project. "Stopping it was a grave historic error," he said, "yet it is not too late to return to that great vision... to enlist the Jewish people to that daring mission... to turn once again to great and inspiring deeds that would excite the Jewish people and lift its spirits."

President Herzog is not the first to see the Med-Dead as a way to draw water from the Mediterranean down to the Dead Sea, thus generating hydroelectric power, had long ago fantasized Theodore Herzl.

And indeed, what could be more thrilling than a vision of the Mediterranean waters cascading down the 400-metre cliffs to the Dead Sea rift—especially when elections loom in the horizon?

On May 29, 1981, then-premier Menachem Begin unveiled a monumental plaque to launch the \$800 million Mediterranean-Dead Sea project. "There will be great light in Israel produced from the Land of Israel itself," he declared.

Perhaps. But as we all know, sea water is not yet gushing past Mount Zion. Why? Simple: the project is not viable. The original \$800m. estimate was soon replaced by a more realistic \$1.5 billion figure, while oil prices, projected to skyrocket to \$50 per barrel and more, plummeted.

Few of those involved in the initial planning phase truly believed in its feasibility, but this did not stop the government from allocating \$18m. for geological and economic studies. Israel Bonds, meanwhile, eagerly clutched the Med-Dead to its heart, making it in 1981 the focus of a special fund-raising campaign.

No one seemed capable of answering the basic question: would the hydroelectric plant make or lose money over a 50-year period? In its feasibility studies, the Mediterranean-Dead Sea Co., set up by the government to lead the project, failed to present a credible cost-benefit forecast. Preliminary figures indicated a definite loss, yet in January 1983 an interim report projected a \$400m. profit.

Whether deliberately or innocently deceived, the victim in the end was not the Jewish people, whom President Herzog is so eager to draw into adventure again. The treasury profit was presented by manipulating the methods used by the treasury to evaluate costs of development projects.

Does President Herzog wish to revive this kind of misadventure? It could appear so. Don't only look at figures, he says: "It is an attitude that the National Water Carrier project had been evaluated by economic criteria only, it would never have materialized."

Such arguments sound like the avarice of an old man. At 40, Herzog ought to be mature enough to judge challenges according to their viability, not only by their contribution to national pride. Let the Med-Dead rest in peace.

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Wage talks collapse

By JEFF BLACK

For The Jerusalem Post
Histadrut officials angrily described yesterday's public sector wage negotiations with the Treasury "as a waste of time," and announced they were stepping up their preparations for a general strike to begin on July 3.

Unlike Monday, when the two sides reported some progress in the negotiations, yesterday's meeting at the Histadrut headquarters in Tel Aviv brought the whole process back to square one.

Labour federation officials accused the Treasury of going back on their word after the Treasury's wage chief Ya'acov Danon opened the talks by saying he had been misunderstood at the last meeting.

Danon told Histadrut Trade Union Department head Haim Haberfeld and a number of public sector trade union leaders that he had not offered them a 6% wage rise over two years as had been thought. Danon insisted that all he had offered was a 3% wage increase for this year, a wage rise which would also take into account expected rises in the minimum wage among other elements.

There was also no progress yesterday over the issue of a reduction in weekly work hours for public sector employees although the manufacturing sector will soon move to a five-day work week following an agreement reached yesterday between Histadrut Secretary-General Yissak Kassar and Manufacturers' Association president Dov Lautman.

Hishtadrut officials said last night that such an offer was "basically nothing" and Haberfeld insisted there was no alternative but to speed up the preparations for next month's general strike.

But Haberfeld added that he hoped the Treasury would reconsider its position in the next few days to prevent this move.

Engineers' Union leader Zalman Shekman told The Jerusalem Post last night that even a 3% wage increase over and above any increase in the minimum wage would not satisfy the unions. He said there should be no more meetings between the Treasury and Histadrut until the Treasury comes up with a better offer.

The court's ruling follows a petition by Israel Aircraft Industries legal adviser Nahum Feinberg after the 24-hour strike a few weeks ago by the engineers, technicians and academic unions.

Trade Union Department deputy-head Ephraim Jilani told The Jerusalem Post last night that the labour federation would only formulate its reaction to the ruling at Sunday's central committee meeting. He said he thought the ruling was superficial as the department was given its power to authorize strikes by the executive committee.

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The empty threats of the 'big 13' forum

FINE PRINT/Shlomo Maoz

The "big 13" works-committee forum is composed of committees from the country's biggest enterprises. They want that severe organizational steps must be taken if a solution to the national health crisis is not found. Somehow it seems that the heads of these committees are still under the impression that they have the power to threaten the government or the Histadrut.

Years ago, during another period, when almost every group was able to blackmail and threaten the government, the then-Histadrut Secretary-General Yeroham Meshel, had something to say. But during the last few years the power of the "big 13" has deteriorated, something that has happened to all unions. Let's go through the list of the tough guys and see if they have anything to offer their workers, before taking care of the collapsing health system.

The first union under the microscope is the military industry's civilian workers' organization. The head of this group, Shalom Habshtosh, has to explain to his workers why thousands of their friends have lost their jobs over the last few years as the government has begun cutting back on the defence budget.

The second union boss who should first of all worry about his lack of achievement for his members is Ya'acov Sheffi of Israel Aircraft Industries. All his friends' demonstrations, which included barricades of burning tyres, were of no avail. The government decided on scrapping the Lavi and thousands of workers were made redundant.

Another boss with little to shout about is Avraham Saguy of El Al. El Al employees have been working for the last five years under a receivership with no real power to decide their destiny. They could be fired at any moment since they have no protection while their company is in the receiver's hands.

It is also hard to see why Louis Roth of Bank Leumi is so sure about his performance. Bino Zadik, Leumi's general-manager, does as he wants. He manages the big bank without allowing the workers any say. He allocated bonuses at will, leaving Roth to merely bark.

Michel Sarussi of Ashdod Port can hardly put on a show of power for his workers. The days of Yehoshua Peretz are well and truly over. Ashdod Port is now trying to find alternative jobs for its employees, whose numbers have diminished significantly. The port's workers are even trying to compete with their counterparts in Haifa by cutting rates under the table.

The only one that still has the power to threaten the country is Yoram Overkovich of the Israel Electric Corporation. All other works committees can only shout into the wind. But even Overkovich has difficulty explaining why the electricity workers lost about 5% of their real wage in the first quarter of the year compared to June 1985, while Bezek employees gained a 13.6% wage hike during the same period, leaving the spoilt electricity workers with no advantage in comparison to public sector workers.

signed, and the dollar keeps rising in foreign markets although nothing here has been done to react to this latter development.

In addition, the market was also affected by a worsening in the situation of companies registered on the stock exchange, as reflected in their financial statements. Hasehbi is one example. Next week Koor's results are expected to show huge losses, running into over \$100 million.

Institutional investors have reduced the extent of their activities in the market. Provident funds, which in the past used to purchase non-

arrangement shares have stopped doing so. Mutual funds dealing in shares have been affected by the demand for redemption, and are unable to purchase shares except for only for the most solid of funds.

On top of this, the share market is under the influence of technical indicators that have, since the beginning of the month, signalled that the market is headed downwards. An examination of the situation from the beginning of 1988, or even from May 1987, shows that there is a constant downward trend in the market.

But the technical adjustment which caused yesterday's rises may be the beginning of a new process, in which there might be rises, and the market may "crawl" upwards.

This would be the result of the approaching summer vacation, the expected low interest rates and the lack of large-scale sellers.

The bond market too was characterized by falls, albeit moderate ones, in very small volumes of trade. This has pushed up yields. Short-term bonds were in demand by institutional investors.

Bank shares in the arrangement were traded at higher rates due to the strengthening of the dollar in foreign markets. Arrangement shares continued to offer high yields, and this represents an alternative for shekel investments.

Interest rates on shekel deposits continued their low levels, and Treasury bills were traded at yields of 15% to 17%. The Bank of Israel continues using the bills for its open market operations. The central bank this week issued about NIS 100m. worth of bills.

A technical improvement could be expected for next week, caused by the end of the first half of the year, and the mutual funds' desire to improve their yields.

Labour Court rules on strikes

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Dollar firm, mark slips

LONDON (Reuters) - The dollar held firm yesterday after the United States reported its economy grew a little less quickly than first estimated. But dealers said news that U.S. Gross National Product rose 3.6% in the first three months of 1988 instead of the 3.9% gain first reported, should further ease already-fading fears of inflation.

Wall Street shares were little changed in early trading after Wednesday's 43 point rise in the Dow Jones industrial average to a post-crash high of 2,152.

And, after the Tokyo stock market sagged for the fourth day in a row, with the Nikkei 225-share down 127.85 points to 27,732.93, some dealers say a major shift of funds into the United States could be coming.

The dollar was steady just above 128.50 Japanese yen and gained 1.5 cents to trade around \$1.7570 to the British pound sterling.

But the mark was especially weak. The dollar rose 1.5 pence to more than 1.79 marks yesterday morning after a nearly two-penny rise on Wednesday. The mark has not been as low since October.

Israel Money Markets

Shekel Deposits (annual rates)

Bank	Deposit Size	1 month	3 months	6 months	12 months
Leumi (June 18)	401-1000	8.00	11.50	12.00	12.50
	1001-10,000	8.50	12.00	12.50	13.00
	10,001-50,000	10.00	12.50	13.00	13.50
	50,001-100,000	10.50	13.00	13.50	14.00
	100,001-500,000	11.00	13.50	14.00	14.50
	Up to \$889	8.00	10.75	10.75	11.25
Hapoalim (April 14)	10,000-49,999	8.50	11.00	11.00	11.50
	50,000-99,999	8.75	11.25	11.25	11.75
	100,000+	10.00	11.50	11.50	12.00
Discount (June 23)	40-999	7.00	8.00	10.00	12.50
	100,000-999,999	10.00	12.00	12.50	13.00
	1,000,000-49,999	10.50	12.50	13.00	13.50
	50,000-99,999	11.00	12.50	13.00	14.00
	100,000+	11.00	12.50	13.00	14.00
Mizrahi (June 9)	40-2,000	8.50	10.00	10.00	11.00
	2,001-10,000	8.50	10.25	10.25	11.50
	10,001-50,000	10.00	10.75	10.75	12.00
	50,001-100,000	10.50	11.25	11.25	12.50
	100,001-250,000	11.00	12.25	12.25	13.00
	250,000+	11.00	12.25	12.25	13.00
First Intl (May 16)	50-999	8.00	9.39	9.39	10.56
	1,000-9,999	8.00	10.43	10.43	11.52
	10,000-49,999	8.75	10.56	10.56	12.00
	50,000-99,999	10.25	11.47	11.47	12.00
	100,000+	10.75	11.89	11.89	13.00

Patah (foreign currency deposit rates) (June 23)

Currency (unit, deposit)	3 MONTHS	6 MONTHS	12 MONTHS
U.S. dollar (\$100,000)	7.000	7.125	7.500
Deutsche mark (DM 100,000)	7.500	7.500	8.250
Swiss franc (SF 200,000)	3.125	3.125	3.250
Yen (¥ 1 million yen)	2.250	2.250	2.250
SOURCE: BANK LEUMI. Rates vary according to size of deposit.			

Shekel Foreign Exchange Rates (June 23)

CHECKS AND TRANSFERS		BANKNOTES		Rep. Rate
Buy	Sell	Buy	Sell	
Currency basket	1.7500	1.7520		1.7159
U.S. dollar	1.6970	1.6170	1.56	1.6300
Deutsche mark	0.9917	0.9928	0.87	0.9880
Pound sterling	2.2685	2.2698	2.23	2.2625
French franc	0.2548	0.2552	0.25	0.2568
Japanese yen (100)	0.2548	0.2554	0.21	0.2485
Dutch florin	1.2408	1.2421	0.77	0.81
Swiss franc	1.0821	1.0837	1.00	1.120
Swedish krona	0.2586	0.2518	0.25	0.2602
Norwegian krona	0.2586	0.2582	0.25	0.2602
Austrian schilling	0.2586	0.2574	0.23	0.24
British mark	1.3769	1.3816	1.37	0.39
Canadian dollar	0.3228	0.3281	0.29	0.3332
Australian dollar	0.3117	0.322	0.23	0.34
African rand	0.6923	0.7015	0.45	0.54
Belgian franc (10)	0.4245	0.4298	0.42	0.43
Austrian schilling (10)	1.2688	1.2845	1.24	1.30
Italian lire (1000)	1.2046	1.2046	1.17	1.213
Austrian florin			4.21	4.67
Egyptian pound			0.71	0.75
Indian rupee	1.6537	1.6650		
Spanish peseta (100)	2.3971	2.4271	2.34	2.48
Spanish peseta (100)	1.3500	1.3689	1.31	1.39

SOURCE: BANK LEUML.

THE JERUSALEM POST

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The choices before us

HIS own party colleagues opposed it as un-Jewish, the Druse member of the Likud parliamentary faction conceded. But he for one felt no compunction about proposing it as a remedy for the situation in the territories. Israel ought to take a leaf from the Saudis' book, he said. It should cut off the hands of arsonists and petrol-bomb throwers. That might give the *infada* boys a pause.

Extreme as the proposal was, it reflected the anger and frustration which Israelis of most political persuasions feel today about the turn taken by the Palestinian uprising. The nonchalance with which it was originally treated has now fairly disappeared. The belief that ordinary Israeli punishment will soon teach the Palestinians that their violence does not pay, is no longer widely entertained. If anything, the evidence suggests that the uprising may be becoming more brutal than before, and is increasingly spilling over into Israel proper.

Instead of the Palestinians losing the taste for continued defiance of occupation, it is Israelis who are growing impatient with the *infada*. And that impatience means a search for more severe penalties. Cutting off the hands of petrol-bomb throwers is too Arab a remedy to be acceptable, even now. But shooting them to kill is another matter, and so is the expulsion of whoever may be connected, however remotely, with them. The idea of collective punishment is being raised in the Knesset with increasing frequency and it is winning fresh adherents among the frustrated.

Even the lunatic-fringe formula of a wholesale transfer of Palestinians "homeward" to Jordan is gaining new supporters.

Until now the fear of what still tougher retribution might do to Israel's already tarnished image abroad, has acted as a deterrent. But this fear is yielding to vexation over the mounting Arab violence. The right of individual Jews in their land to protection against Arab violence, no matter from which quarter, is after all axiomatic. No Israeli government can afford to be indifferent to it. The question is, what sort of challenge is it that Israel is now facing and what sort of response does it merit?

The most powerful voice in the country has lately been sounding repeated warnings about the dangerous turn which the Jewish-Arab, or Israel-Palestinian, conflict is taking. The conflict is said to be turning existential, a matter of "we or they." This is said to be due to the increasing signs of Palestinian unwillingness to live in peace and harmony with their Jewish neighbours in the Jewish land. Peace and harmony represent the consummation most devoutly wished by Israel, but if the Arabs spurn the Jewish olive branch they will suffer the consequences.

Granting the premise, this conclusion follows naturally. And there is no dearth of evidence to show that a goodly number of Palestinians in Judea, Samaria and Gaza, have still not abandoned the old dream of Israel's demise as a state. Armed and violent, and acting in concert with outside armed and violent Arab forces, these local Palestinians may indeed pose an existential threat to Israel. Against them, force is the only proper response.

But the idyllic picture of a peace-and-harmony-loving Israel is only half-true. The other half is a picture of planned long-term dominance over a fractious Palestinian subject race. Although clothed with bogus legality, this plan derives its nourishment from the physical fact of Israel's occupation and settlement. Much of the force of the uprising, as distinct from PLO terrorism, is due to the closing of any option but resistance to this plan.

Violence must not be allowed to pay. But for violence to cease without resort to the kind of brutality that Israel has never permitted, there must be genuine reward for true non-violence. The restoration, even in the short-term, of law and order in the territories cannot occur in a political vacuum. That choice is Israel's.

BRAZIL

(Continued from Page One)

After arriving in Brazil last Thursday, Monsonego maintained daily contact with the family by phone. On Saturday, he met with Grinplastch, who deeply impressed him as "a reliable religious woman."

The family says that Monsonego had no previous ties to the other Israelis arrested in the case.

Gil was planning to fly to Brazil early next week. "I don't know if I can really help Amram, but I can't leave him there alone," he said.

In Ramat Gan yesterday neighbours tried to piece together what must have happened to Shalom and Ferial Horeish Rosenne. When the Rosenne couple disappeared three weeks ago few of their neighbours thought it unusual. The couple had always been somewhat aloof and did not maintain close ties with their working-class neighbours.

But the neighbours were shocked to learn of the Rosenne's arrest yesterday in Brazil where they were charged with the illegal purchase of black-market babies.

High school teacher Ferial Horeish married Shalom Rosenne two years ago, at age 40. Shalom, who

had lived in Brazil until 1983, divorced his Argentinian-born wife, and moved into Ferial's apartment with his two children, Ariela, now 14, and Gur, 10.

"At first there were the usual adjustment problems, but I thought in the end she became accustomed to the children," said a neighbour. "Still, she told me she very much wanted a child of her own."

Three weeks ago, after several failed attempts to have a child, the couple flew to Brazil, leaving Ariela and Gur in the care of Ferial's mother. According to reports from Brazil, police there charged the couple with paying for the adoption of a baby girl who died on Monday of an intestinal disorder. The couple then paid \$10,000 for the adoption of a baby boy, according to the Brazilian police charges.

Melech Ziv, a family friend, told Israel Radio yesterday that the couple "did everything possible to make sure the adoption was legally and medically proper. They have nothing to do with the baby market. All they wanted was to adopt and they found themselves cheated, childless, and in jail."

REHOVOT

(Continued from Page One)

Kook was to accompany five Jewish religious leaders from the U.S. In fact, Kook had been slated to accompany a similar group six months ago and went to the U.S. to receive his Soviet visa, but while the visas for the American rabbis came through, his did not.

"They never said that they had refused to give me a visa, they just kept saying it hadn't arrived yet," he told The Post. This time, he did not leave Israel until the visa was in the hands of the organizers in New York.

Kook said that by strengthening the ties of Soviet Jews with the Torah, one would also help to ensure that if they left Russia, they would come to Israel. A link to the Torah would do more than any kind of administrative decree, he said, referring to the recent Israeli government decision to block dropouts by issuing visas to Israel from Bucharest.

He also stressed that even if many Jews left the USSR, there were many more who were remaining and he was concerned with strengthening their links with Judaism. The Rehovot rabbi said he also intends to meet with Rabbi Adolf Shayeivich of the Central Moscow Synagogue.

"I know there are those who say that he is a government agent, but I cannot enter into this controversy," he said. He intends to invite Shayeivich to visit Rehovot, he said.

As for his feelings before going, Kook said that he himself was moved by the fact that after 55 years of Bolshevik rule, the chief rabbi of Rehovot was coming to speak of Torah to the Jews of Russia. He also felt like "a dwarf before giants," in comparison with the Soviet Jewish activists.

"They have given up everything, their jobs, their security. They have challenged an entire society. I hope to gain strength from them."

THE CABINET decision taken earlier this week to eliminate the "drop-out" option for Soviet Jews amounts to shooting ourselves in the foot on a number of issues concerning Soviet Jewry and Israel-Diaspora relations. Behind the decision lies a narrow-minded viewpoint that believes that world Jewry exists solely to serve the state of Israel. Israel's interests, however, are not always compatible with those of Diaspora Jews.

According to the decision, Jews who leave the Soviet Union on a visa to Israel will have to go to Israel. From Moscow they will be allowed to fly only to Bucharest, where they will receive a visa to Israel. There will no more "cheating" by Russian Jews who have taken the Israeli visa as the only way to get out, but who have left for the U.S. and other Western destinations once they reach Vienna.

Since the early 1970s, 170,000 Soviet Jews have come to Israel, while about 120,000 have settled in America.

It is hard to quarrel with the government's contention that every country has a right to define how its visas are used. But this is not the only issue at stake.

Israel has responsibilities to the Jewish people that go beyond considerations of diplomatic formalism. In this case, persuasive arguments can be made that in order to save as many Jews as possible, Israel has a duty to overlook the technical "abuse" of its visas by the "drop-outs."

Meanwhile the decision has succeeded in splitting the Jewish world and the community of Russian olim, while promoting greater animosity between the superpowers. Both the U.S. State Department and the Soviet Union have criticized the move as violation of freedom of movement.

Did we really have to give the Russians an opportunity to take us to task on a question of human rights?

ARGUMENTS about the need to guarantee freedom of choice for Soviet Jewish emigrants can be heard on both sides of the fence.

Taken in its literal and most basic sense, this concept means that the Jews who are fortunate enough to get out of their "socialist paradise" should have the right to decide for themselves where they want to live.

For the Israeli leaders who support the cabinet decision, however, freedom of choice has a different meaning. Both Jewish Agency Chairman Simcha Diniz and Absorption Minister Ya'acov Tsur are now ready to use this slogan in welcoming would-be drop-outs turned olim. Diniz said this week that true freedom of choice can only be exercised once the Jews come to Israel. Since their minds have been poisoned by anti-Israel propaganda, they can make a proper choice only if they experience the real Israel first.

I wonder if Diniz is willing to explain his interpretation of freedom of choice to these Soviet olim—people are already calling them the "new prisoners of Zion"—when they first arrive? Considering where they are coming from, they should feel right at home with this sort of "Zionist doublespeak," which holds

that people have to be compelled to exercise true freedom of choice.

There is another freedom-of-choice argument relating to the fact that once the Russian Jews come here, they lose the option of being admitted to the U.S. as "refugees," which would have been theirs had they travelled to Vienna. Bereft of this special status, they would have to line up at the American Embassy in Tel Aviv with other yordim, and seek entry to the U.S. under a limited quota.

This argument is worthy of mention, but not our sympathy.

Tsur also believes in freedom of choice. He said that an option now exists for Soviet Jews to go directly to the U.S. on an American visa. This is true, but it is misleading to suggest that this option will solve all the problems.

Since last year, small numbers—between 300 and 400—of Soviet Jews have been able to emigrate to the U.S. on an American visa, after presenting an invitation from relatives in the U.S.

As things stand now, there is every reason to believe that fewer Jews will be able to get out through this channel than by emigrating on an Israeli visa. First of all, the American government is not likely to change its cumbersome procedures governing the entry of Soviet Jews, which are not geared for mass immigration. The procedures for obtaining visas to Israel have permitted larger numbers of Jews to leave. If this last sentence sounds vague, it is because I am trying to make a point without divulging some unpublishable information. Please leave it as is.

Second, in the case of applications for "family reunification" from relatives in the U.S., the Soviets recognize invitations only from first-degree relatives. In the case of Israel, the first-degree restriction is on the books, but it is not applied.

In practice, then, the route out, on an Israeli visa, is open to more Jews than the exit route on an American visa. Thus to claim that the American visa option fully satisfies the demands of freedom of choice is simply not true, at least under current conditions.

OFF THE RECORD, most Israeli officials will admit that this is indeed the case. But they are confident that would-be emigrants will make the calculation that going to Israel is better than not getting out at all, and that the planes from Bucharest will be packed with people who would have preferred to go to Vienna.

Once the olim get off the plane, though, officialdom here will show less interest in their fate, if we may judge by current problems in immigrant absorption. The government has not been willing to provide enough money for public housing for eligible olim who have been waiting for years to have a permanent home.

Some 3,000 Ethiopians have been stuck for four years in substandard conditions in absorption centres because they are not a top priority issue for the government. When hundreds of Soviet olim start arriving each month by way of Romania, will the government suddenly discover that it has money for adequate public housing?

READERS' LETTERS

LACK OF SUPPORT

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, — Could anyone in 1948 have imagined that in 1988 it would be necessary for Israel to plead and beg American and Canadian Jews to come and visit?

We honestly feel that many in these Canadian and American communities are not fully aware of how vulnerable they have been and how they have succumbed to the exaggerated reports of the situation here in Israel. Nor do we believe that they fully appreciate the irreparable damage being done to Israel's economy as well as to its morale by their lack of solidary and visible support in this critical time. Hotel employ-

ees including top management are being given enforced vacation leave; tour guides are virtually unemployed, not to mention the domino effect that this acute lack of tourism has on related businesses and of course indirectly on the entire population.

Diaspora Jewry has always demonstrated its love and support of Israel for these past 40 years. Let it not be said that it failed Israel as it entered its 41st year!

BEN AND CARRIE GROSSMAN
Jerusalem.

More letters — Page 11

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Jepi, 001550

The new 'prisoners of Zion'

Charles Hoffman

Speaking of priorities, let's look at what is really important for Ya'acov Tsar. He did not think that the lack of public housing for the Ethiopians and other needy olim was important enough to bring to the attention of the cabinet. But he was the one who pushed the drop-out issue onto the cabinet agenda as a matter of urgent national importance.

Why should the government make a special effort to force Russian Jews to come here if it doesn't have the money to provide decent housing for the olim who are here already? Does it want to see the "new prisoners of Zion" demonstrating in front of the American Embassy, demanding to be allowed into the U.S. as "refugees."

INITIAL REPORTS from Russia concerning the reaction of Soviet Jews to the new policy indicate that here too our leaders may be indulging in wishful thinking. With glasnost gaining momentum, even for the Jews, some of them may prefer to put their exit permits to Israel in the drawer and wait to see if cultural and economic opportunities improve as promised. Others may start writing to relatives in the U.S., asking them to send an invitation to come to America.

But what if the only relatives they have there are not first-degree? What if they want to go to America, and decide to enlist the help of American Jews in their cause? Here we have the makings of a new avenue for the American struggle for Soviet Jewry.

While Morris Abram, the president of the National Conference for Soviet Jewry — the establishment body of the movement — has endorsed the cabinet decision to eliminate the drop-out option, grassroots activists and other Jewish organizations may react differently.

To many American Jews who have devoted years to Soviet Jewry, the goal of the movement has never been defined in narrow terms as a struggle for aliya. This is how the struggle is perceived here, however, due to the Zionist lenses through which Israelis tend to view the world, and to the impact on the

public consciousness of the prominent refuseniks who have made aliya.

The Union of Councils for Soviet Jewry, for example, is by no means against aliya, but it views the overall struggle as a fight to "free Soviet Jews." Where the Jews want to go once they are free, is their business.

The United Jewish Appeal uses the theme of Soviet Jewry in its fund-raising campaigns, but also portrays the struggle in a general sense. After all, UJA funds are "pluralistic": the money is used by HIAS, which pays for Soviet Jews to come to the U.S. from Vienna; by Nyana, the New York Association for New Americans, which helps Soviet immigrants settle in New York; as well as by the Jewish Agency, which brings Soviet Jews to Israel.

It is not too difficult to imagine a scenario where Soviet Jews, with American Jewish assistance, would launch a campaign aimed explicitly at getting them to the U.S. The campaign could include demonstrations in Moscow to attract attention to their plight; pressure on the State Department to expedite its immigration procedures; and pressure on the Soviets, through the administration in Washington, to accept requests for family-reunification that do not come from first-degree relatives.

Does Israel want the struggle for Soviet Jews to become bifurcated, so that the energies and political resources of the Soviet Jewry movement are divided between those who want to go to America and those who want to go to Israel? Under such conditions, should Israel sponsor a "Zionist" Soviet Jewry movement aimed at getting Jews to Israel, which would compete with a "non-Zionist" movement aimed at getting them to America?

Until now, basic differences in orientation between Israel and the American movement were papered over by slogans such as "Let My People Go!" The beauty of this slogan was that you didn't have to say where you wanted them to go. Under the new conditions created by the cabinet, Soviet Jewry activists may well have to take sides by specifying a destination.

With many segments of Diaspora Jewry becoming more distant from

Israel and Zionism, it is not at all al's best interests for the Soviet Jewry issue to reinforce these trends. WHY HAS the government moved as if shooting itself in the foot was the most satisfying and productive way of dealing with the drop-out problem?

As we recall, it was the drop-out rate for May, which topped 90 per cent, that prompted Tsar to bring the issue to the cabinet, although it had been discussed for several months in top government circles before then.

For many years now, the monthly figures on Soviet Jewish emigration have been the occasion for much grumbling and hand-wringing here. Why do we hold this monthly sadomasochistic ritual, in which we afflict ourselves while at the same time berating the hapless Soviet Jews for "betraying" us?

Many people here obviously feel that Israel has been "cheated" by the drop-outs. Do they owe us their lives? Maybe they do, but who are we to demand that they pay up? This is no longer 1949, when immigrants could be brought in by the plane and shipload and dumped here because they had nowhere else to go.

Have our leaders taken the trouble to learn what kind of Jews they really are? Are we taking our frustration out on them because they refuse to conform to our myths and mistaken notions about Russian Jews? Did we really think that they were all cut from the same cloth as Ida Nudel or Yosef Mendeleivich? Many people here simply refuse to acknowledge that many, if not most, Russian Jews, especially those in Moscow and Leningrad, are highly assimilated. It is unrealistic to think that they have spent many years, even as refuseniks, longing only for Zion.

Instead of berating them and ourselves each month for the olim lost to the Jewish state, we should be celebrating the number of free men and women added to the Jewish people. Israel needs more Jews — no one would dispute this. But the way to get them is not by impugning the visa to Israel with the stamp of our own narrow-mindedness.

Charles Hoffman is a member of The Jerusalem Post editorial staff

The Friday Dry Bones

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